Arapahoes having fully as many children who have gray hair, it 144 being seemingly an inherited quality in certain families. I have also seen the same thing in other tribes. In regard to the light hair, one of the old men said to me that when God made them He as a special mark of His pleasure took the silky tassel of the corn with which to make their hair. As a matter of fact this peculiarity is of recent date. Since 1804, when Lewis and Clarke spent their winters with this tribe, their liking for the white men of their party is a matter of record, and particularly of one or two of the men who had red hair and blue eyes." (P. 241.)

The above expressed opinion that those peculiarities were of "recent date," and Clarke's evident intention of referring them as to origin to the period of the Lewis and Clarke visit is, we believe, so far fetched as to be without any substantial basis. We have already seen and will hereinafter find further references to evidences which are indisputable to the effect that long before Lewis and Clarke saw the Mandans they had become renowned in the Canadian and eastern American country as "Bearded Whites" and as "Welsh Indians." Even Verendrye, as will be seen later on, knew of those reports and expressed disappointment that the Mandans were not much nearer white men in complexion than he found them to be.

Clarke concludes with the following:

Religious Phases. "They place calico and other cloths round 774 the posts in their lodges as a gift to the god of timber to satisfy him for the spoilation, believing that it hurts a tree to be cut down; i. e., gives it physical pain. The tree is alive and its destruction is the destruction of life, but by giving something to God—making a sacrifice—it pleases Him and gives them good luck. This is a curious peculiarity of their religious belief, which is shared by no other tribe that I have ever met. Near the village 778 and cultivated fields I saw poles fifteen or twenty feet long 783 planted in the ground, with bundles of female clothing tied to these poles near the top. On inquiry they told me that these were gifts to the three Mandan medicine women, who keep the lodges for the sun—one where the sun rises, one at the zenith and one where the sun sets. These women never die, and the sun stops at their lodges to smoke. 'By watching closely,' said the old man, 'you can see that the sun stops for a short time just as he rises, the same at meridian, and he stays with the third at night, 800 to sweat the part afflicted, by holding the face over a hot stone, and receiving the fumes from snow thrown on it. A large red fox was killed today." (id 222.)

"Sunday, 17th. The weather continued as yesterday, though in the afternoon it became fair. Shotawoorora and his son came to see us, with about thirty pounds of dried buffalo meat and some tallow." (id 223.)

145 763 **Dying Mandan—Ceremonial.** "Wednesday, 20th. The day was delightfully fine, the mercury being at sunrise two degrees, and in the course of the day twenty-two degrees above zero, the wind southerly. Kagohomi came down to see us early; his village is afflicted by the death of one of their eldest men, who, from his account to us, must have seen one hundred and twenty winters. Just as he was dying, he requested his grandchildren to dress him in his best robe when he was dead, and then carry him to a hill and seat him on a stone, with his face down the river towards their old village, that he might go straight to his brother who had passed before him to the ancient village under ground. We have seen a number of Mandans who have lived to a great age; chiefly however the men, whose robust exercises fortify the body, while the laborious occupations of the women shorten their existence."

•778 787 **Medicine Stone.** "Thursday, 21st. We had a continuance of the same pleasant weather. Oheenaw Shahaka came down to see us, and mentioned that several of their countrymen had gone to consult their medicine stone as to the prospects of the following year. The medicine stone is the great oracle of the Mandans, and whatever it announces is believed with implicit confidence. Every spring and on some occasions during the summer, a deputation visits the sacred spot, where there is a thick porous stone twenty feet in circumference, with a smooth surface. Having reached the place, the ceremony of smoking to it is performed by the deputies, who alternately take a whiff themselves, and then present the pipe to the stone; after this they retire to an adjoining wood for the night, during which, it may be safely presumed that all the embassy do not sleep; and in the morning they read the destines of the nation in the white marks on the stone, which those who make them are at no loss to decipher. The Minnetarees have a stone of a similar kind, which has the same qualities,

and the same influence over the nation. Captain Lewis returned 778
from his excursion in pursuit of the Indians. On reaching the 781
place where the Sioux had stolen our horses, they found only one sled, and several pair of moccasins which were recognized to be those of the Sioux. The party then followed the Indian tracks till they reached two old lodges, where they slept, and the next morning pursued the course of the river, till they reached some Indian camps, where Captain Clarke passed the night some time ago, and which the Sioux had now set on fire, leaving a little corn near the place, in order to induce a belief that they were Ricaras. From this point the Sioux tracks left the river abruptly and crossed into the plains, but perceiving that there was no chance of overtaking them, Captain Lewis went down to the pen where Captain Clarke had left some meat, which he found untouched by the Indians, and then hunted in the low grounds on the river, till he returned with about three hundred pounds of meat, some drawn in a sled by fifteen of the men, and the rest on horseback; having killed thirty-six deer, fourteen elk and one wolf." (id 223.)

"Friday, 22nd. The morning was cloudy and a little snow 000
fell, but in the afternoon the weather became fair. We were visited by a number of Indians, among them was Shotawhorora, a chief of much consideration among the Mandans although by birth a Ricara." (id 225.)

"Monday 25th. We were occupied in drawing up the boats on the bank. The smallest one we carried there with no difficulty, but the barge was too heavy for our elk-skin ropes, which constantly broke. We were visited by Orupsebara or Black Moccasin, and several other chiefs, who brought us presents of meat on the backs of their squaws, and one of the Minnetarees requested and obtained permission for himself and his two wives to remain all night in the fort. The day was exceedingly pleasant. (id 226.)

"Tuesday, 26th. The weather is again fine. By great labor during the day, we got all the boats on the bank by sunset, an operation which attracted a great number of Indians to the fort." (id 226.)

Report from Aricaras. "Thursday. 28th. **Mr. Gravelines with two Frenchmen and two Indians, arrived from the Ricara nation, 1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

of the caches or circular pits of the confederated village Mat- 251
thews speaks below. The writer found some of the remains of those caches on said site in 1905:

Caches, or Pits. "The numerous caches, or pits, for storing grain, are noteworthy objects in the village. In summer, when they are not in use, they are often left open, or are carelessly covered, and may entrap the unwary stroller. When these Indians have harvested their crops, and before they start on their winter's hunt, they dig their caches, or clear out those dug in previous years. A cache is a cellar, usually round, with a small opening above, barely large enough to allow a person to descend; when finished, it looks like an ordinary round cistern. Reserving a small portion of corn, dried squash, etc., for winter use, they deposit the remainder in these subterranean store houses, along with household utensils and other articles of value which they wish to leave behind. They then fill up the orifices with earth, which they trample down and rake over, thus obliterating every trace of excavation.

"Some caches are made under the floors of the houses, others outside, in various parts of the village grounds; in each case, the distance and direction from some door, post, bedstead, fire-place, or other object is noted, so that the stores may be found on the return of the owners in the spring. Should an enemy enter the village while it is temporarily deserted, the goods are safe from fire and theft. This method of secreting property has long been used among many tribes, has been adopted by whites living on the plains, and is referred to in the works of many travelers."

It is seen from the following account of the "medicine-lodge" 346
of the Mandans, as observed by Matthews, that he ascribes to it 361
a religious character, as did Catlin and others:

Mandan and Arricara "Medicine-Lodges." "There are, in the village, two open spaces, which, although of irregular shape, may be called squares; one of these is in the Mandan, the other in the Aricaree quarter. Besides each square stands a large round 'medicine-lodge,' or temple, built as described in the second paragraph of section three, which is used for purposes that, in a general way, are called religious."

The Ark—Ceremony of Okeepa. "In the center of the Mandan 778
square is a small circular palisade, about six feet high and four feet in diameter, made of neatly hewn puncheons set closely to-

778 gether. It has somewhat the appearance of a large barrel, and is emblematic of the ark in which, according to Mandan mythology, the sole survivor of the deluge was saved. The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen at Fort Berthold today, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Fort Clarke, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rites have, however, been somewhat mitigated since his day."

000 **Aricaree Medicine-Lodge.** "The medicine-lodges of the Aricarees is larger than that of the Mandans, and is used for a greater variety of ceremonies. Some of these performances, consisting of ingenious tricks of jugglery and dances, representative of various hunts, we might be inclined to call theatrical rather than religious. Probably these Indians consider them both worshipful and entertaining.

"It is often hard to tell how much of a religious ceremony is intended to propitiate the unknown powers, and how much to please the spectators."

712 **Fortifications—Stockades.** "Many travelers have described their towns as being fortified, sometimes with walls, but usually with ditches and stockades, or with stockades alone. The latter system of defense was in use at the village of Fort Berthold until the winter of 1865, when they cut down the palisades for firewood; and they have never since restored them. The presence of United States troops in their neighborhood, and the growing weakness of the Dakotas, were probably the causes which led them to discontinue their fortifications."

773 Matthews virtually bears out Catlin concerning the mythical veneration of the Mandans for the corn symbol:

243 **Agriculturalists—"Corn Mother."** "The Aricarees and Mandans have doubtlessly tilled the soil for many centuries. Their
174 accounts of the origin of corn are mingled with their earliest myths and traditions. There are some reasons for believing that the Aricarees represent an older race of farmers than the Man-

361 Aboriginal Mandan village sites had the following distinctive characteristics.

174 1. The circular four-post earth lodge was the most common type used for summer residence, although semirectangular lodges did occasionally occur. These lodges were closely grouped within a limited area.

2. A central open space approximately one hundred and fifty feet in diameter was reserved for the dances and ceremonies. A
[778] cedar was set into the ground at the center of the open circle and surrounded by an inclosure of wood to represent the culture hero's (NumakmaxEna) body. The inclosure was a symbol of the wall which NumakmaxEna erected to protect the people
[344] from the flood. The ceremonial lodge was on the north side of the open area and in line with the other lodges which formed the circumference of the open area. Lodge entrances of this inner circle faced to the center. The ceremonial lodge was distinguished from other lodges by its flat front and greater length than width.

3. Villages were usually either protected by a surrounding wall and ditch or so situated as to employ as defenses such natural features of the terrain as cliffs, ravines, or riverbanks.

4. Villages were, with one or two exceptions, built near the Missouri River or its tributaries and adjacent to the wooded river bottoms which were cleared for gardens.

[764] 5. Although scaffolds for the dead were erected near the villages, isolated human bones, cache burials, and secondary bundle burials occur so frequently within the older villages that we are justified in assuming that these practices were characteristic of the older culture and that scaffold disposal was of late adoption.

6. There was a marked uniformity between villages of the same age with respect to material culture.

7. The clustering of a considerable number of village sites of a single archeological focus and the absence of all other foci within the region adjacent to the Heart River indicate Mandan domination of an extensive area along the Upper Missouri.

174 The Mandan claim to have been divided into bands which, in large part, were broken down while living at the Heart River.
619 These were: (1) Is'topə ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves");

554 leader.[6] Even the most distinguished war leader, who was one of 796 the two head chiefs of the village, frequently joined an expedition under another for the purpose of capturing horses, although 626 in this instance recognition was often shown an outstanding leader by naming him a co-leader.

An essential function of a chief was to mold public opinion so 622 that a village could act in unison. A chief was considered eminent if for a long time under his leadership there had been a minimum of dissension in the village. Mandan informants still speak of Good Boy, who was chief of Slant Village below the Heart River after the first smallpox epidemic. He was able to unite the remnants of several villages into a single village and to co-ordinate elements with a minimum of friction. He was essentially a village leader who devoted himself, according to tradition, to the rebuilding of the tribe to its former prominence. It is significant to note that, a few years after his death, one group of Mandan separated from the parent-village and were not reunited until Good Boy's son, Four Bears, was elevated to second chief.

622 A chief could prevent intervillage or intravillage warfare only to the extent to which he could inculcate a concept of tribal 182 unity. Neither a chief nor the council has authority to prevent a 778 portion of a village from separating and establishing a separate village. Such separations as have occurred have usually been of short duration, largely because of the integration of the ceremonial structure through the entire tribal population. Although each permanent Mandan village was in a large measure a separate economic, social, and ceremonial unit, the villages were not entirely independent. The turtle drums, which were considered the most sacred objects of the tribe, were held within the Nuptadi band of east-side Mandan, and the other villages were obliged to borrow them for ceremonial purposes. Whereas the sacred cedar in the center of each village was a symbol of village unity, the Mandan considered the turtle drums a symbol of tribal unity.

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6. Cf. chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping."

785 881 869 lectful and took little interest in securing a "guardian spirit," the mother's brother would tease him and tell him he was bringing dishonor to his clan and suggest that, to be rich and honored, he must begin fasting. He would collect goods for his sister's son and instruct him that he should go out on the hills and fast, using the goods on his return to pay his "clan father" for interpreting the dream. The mother's brother also supervised the fasting of the young boys of ten to fourteen years of age, selecting an isolated place at a short distance from the village where the boys were sheltered in a temporary brush lodge and instructed in the proper procedures for inducing visions.

869 778 Children acquired an attitude of respect for the sacred objects of the lodge while young, first by being scolded for playing near the platform on which the bundles were kept, and later by observation of a fixed ritualistic behavior by the parents when the bundles were opened. They were taught that the bundles "protected" them until they were old enough to own "gods" of their own and were informed that their success was in direct proportion to the number and potency of "gods" owned. Children who would inherit or assist in the performance of certain tribal bundle rites received special training beginning when they were ten or twelve years of age. They were also expected to fast often and establish personal bundles based on their supernatural experiences.

[785] 701 726 Fasting was a prerequisite to participation in the organized war expeditions. One would conclude from an examination of the mythology that a young man, after his first experience with the supernatural, organized a war expedition immediately and served as leader. In examining the war records of a number of Mandan, it was found that none would have followed a young man receiving his first vision experience and that, even as a member of a recognized war leader's party, he would be "camp tender," bringing wood and water to the camp, preparing the food, and waiting on the leader during the performance of the rites appertaining to warfare. When he was alert and anticipated the needs of the leader and was not lazy, he was promoted to scout and in company with others of that rank was sent out ahead of the main party each morning to look for the enemy or horses. It was while serving as scout that a young man received

not possessing wealth or important sacred bundles it was largely 581 a social event involving the two households. Although young 584 men would court their girls, marriages were arranged by the relatives, who disapproved of elopements. The mother would watch her daughters, and, when she saw that they were seeing the young men often, she would discuss the matter with her husband. She would advise her daughters not to marry without a considerable exchange of goods, as to do so would be grounds for criticism. Mothers would explain the importance of ceremonial bundles and advise their daughters of the importance of keeping them in the lodge. People would say that a daughter was no good if little was received at her wedding.

There were in each of the Mandan villages a large number of 581 families owning or controlling important tribal bundles. These 778 families were considered the authorities on tribal lore and custom. 425 They received, in addition to the produce of their gardens and their share of meat and hides from animals taken on the group hunts, a great deal of property and honors for officiating at the ceremonies. To preserve their status, they endeavored [556] to have a considerable display of goods at the marriage of one of their children. Families with important related bundles 581 endeavored to marry their children into families also having 778 important bundles, the feeling being that those reared in a 796 lodge where important bundles were kept were better trained in learning the complicated rites associated with tribal bundles. A household that held an important tribal bundle inherited within a clan endeavored and generally succeeded in selecting a son-in-law who was of the same clan as the daughter's father. It was also believed that a man and his son-in-law got along better when they were of the same clan. In a large measure, the Mandan were successful in preserving most of their rich ceremonialism through the smallpox epidemic of 1837 because of the character of the formal training of those who were to inherit the traditional rights and responsibilities for the ceremonies and because of a system of preferred marriage in which the parents of both households selected their children's mates. It can be definitely said that the bulk of Mandan tribal lore was preserved by a small number of families, that their status was high in the

581 778 village, and that they endeavored by selective marriages to keep
796 the bundles and the associated ceremonies within their group.

The Mandan taught their children that they should marry
584 by the same method as their parents married. An analysis of
the various methods of marrying will illustrate the significance
of this Mandan rule.

The method used by the most distinguished families was
584 known as "choosing a son-in-law and buying him a sacred bun-
437 dle." The parents of a young woman who had reached the age
778 when she should marry selected a young man who had a good
583 reputation as a warrior and hunter and whose family owned an
important ceremonial bundle. They would buy a white buffalo robe from some of the hunters or trade corn and horses for it with one of the many tribes that came to the village each fall. These robes were highly valued and would cost a family a high price in horses, garden products, and robes. Having secured one of these robes, they discussed the proposed marriage with the oldest daughter and secured her consent. It was important to get the daughter's consent, since, should she refuse after the marriage arrangements were instituted and run away, the village would learn of it and speculate as to the causes for her action. A daughter was expected to obey her parents and forget any other young men she had been seeing.

584 The young man was invited in by the girl's father, and an
431 offer of marriage to the daughter was suggested. A robe was
put down, and he was asked to sit on it with the young woman.
778 The white buffalo robe was put over their shoulders, and they
were given food prepared by the girl's mother. If the girl had younger sisters, they sat with him and became his wives when they were grown. The girl's brothers brought their new brother-in-law horses. As soon as the food had been eaten, he walked out and onto the top of his father-in-law's lodge, where he addressed his father's sacred bundle, announcing that the white robe was offered to his father's gods. His father's sister would come to the lodge when hearing him make this announcement and take the robe down to care for it until he performed the ceremony.

585 Having made the vow to perform the rites, he began collect-
431 ing robes and other property and was assisted by his wife and
778

potential wives, his brothers-in-law, members of his own age- 585
grade society, members of his wives's age-grade society, and 431
the younger people of his clan. He paid the people occupying 778
the Okipa lodge to vacate for the duration of the ceremony and selected berdaches to sweep the lodge, remove the ashes from the firepit, and repair the sweat lodge. On the date announced for the ceremony, the goods to be given away were taken into the lodge and hung on a line in full view of the spectators. Among them he hung the white buffalo robe where all could admire it. All the men and women having rights in his father's bundle and related bundles were expected to attend and to receive goods. The wives passed around food from time to time.

Those with singer rights directed the singing of the sacred songs. At the end of each song the young man and his wife would present a robe or other article of value to one of the older participants, who would pray to the white robe, asking it to give the young man and his wife or wives success in all their undertakings. He would then give the young man and his wife a small article from his sacred bundle. While the ceremony was in progress, the father's sister remained seated on two buffalo robes with two robes wrapped around her and one held in her hands, these constituting her payment for taking the white robe down from the lodge roof and protecting it until the ceremony was performed.

When the people who were invited had rights in the Corn 585
ceremonies, they were paid to paint the white robe with a design 778
of a corn plant. The one painting the stalk received a horse; for each ear a robe was paid; he paid five robes for the tassel; for each root, a robe was paid. The elaborateness of the design was in a large measure determined by the amount of property acquired for the ceremony. The robe became a part of his ceremonial bundle and was opened during the Corn ceremonies.

If the ceremony was given to the sacred cedar, which was believed to represent Lone Man's body, the robe was draped over the sacred cedar at the termination of the ceremony and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. If the ceremony was to Bird bundles, after the painting was completed, it was carried out onto the prairie where it was draped over a post and

585 778 left there to disintegrate. If the ceremony was to the various Holy Women, it was wrapped around a figure representing an old woman and placed on a pole erected at the side of the wife's lodge.

585 778 431 The ceremony completed the marriage, and it was believed that the wife or wives were married to the husband's ceremonial bundles. A marriage in this manner brought together all the people of the village and usually a large number of people from the other villages; those having rights in the ceremony came to receive presents, and the others came to see the presents but more particularly the painted white robe.

584 583 A second class of marriages was known as "marriage by exchange of presents." The young man's parents selected a young woman who was acceptable to their son or who had received some attention by the son. The young man's parents went to the girl's parents and offered them a specified number of horses for their consent to the marriage. If the marriage was approved, the horses were taken to the girl's lodge and tied to the door. The girl gave the horses to her brothers, who were expected to give her an equal or greater number, which she took to the young man's lodge and presented to his father.

585 The marriage ceremony was held four or five days later to allow time for the preparation of the feast. The food was prepared by her mother and brothers' wives, who, on the designated day, carried the food to the young man's lodge and left immediately without waiting for the completion of the ceremony. When the women returned, the girl left for her prospective husband's lodge, leading the horses. The young man's relatives were gathered in the lodge, and a woman who had been married in this manner was selected to pass the food. Each of the young man's female relatives brought presents which were stacked in a pile. The act of eating together completed the ceremony. Word was then sent to the girl's parents, and the females of the lodge came for the empty vessels and took the presents as their own.

591 The husband's mothers and sisters presented her with presents which consisted chiefly of clothing, and she remained with her husband in his parents' lodge. She assisted with the work but was not considered a co-owner of the lodge property. In the

assistance and the fact that the game run into yards was divided on a moiety basis. 562 [462]

Households having no males suffered most in their ceremonial life. When an important tribal bundle got out of the lodge, it was usually difficult to get it back. [778]

Marriage within the clan was not permitted. There was no punishment other than tribal criticism, and in the census taken as of 1870–72 only one instance was reported by informants, and all the informants questioned on this point mentioned the case. The one instance of marriage within the clan was between Standing Bear and Beaver Woman; though the tribe did not approve of the marriage, they thought that in a way it was justified, since Beaver Woman's mother suggested the marriage after both parties were over fifty-five years of age. The women were brought to Standing Bear's lodge, and the marriage was entered into after the women lost their lodge. 582

Certain Mandan clans had Hidatsa equivalents. Both had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna clan was considered equivalent to the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik clan was equivalent to the Hidatsa Knife clan. The Mandan were not in agreement as to the wisdom of marriage between Mandan-Hidatsa equated clans. Some treated them as separate lineages and considered marriage permissible. Bad Gun's wife's younger sister, however, refused to marry him, believing that the Tamisik and Knife were divisions of a single clan. 582 614

The Mandan claim that moieties were exogamous until after 1837 and that it was more convenient to go through the ceremonies with the wives when they were of opposite moieties, giving as the basis for the breakdown of the moieties the shortage of men. People preferred to marry into the moiety to marrying outside the tribe. 582 616

Both the levirate and the sororate were permissible. When a man married to the older sister died, a younger brother had first chance to marry the widow, which he could do with only a token payment. Such marriages were highly regarded. This was rarely done, since, with a shortage of men, the younger brother was usually already married to several women. When a wife died, the husband could claim one of her younger sisters as wife, and she seldom refused, especially if her sister had small children. 587

768 smallpox epidemic of 1837. The orphans were taken in by the
602 females according to clan affiliation and reared as their own
614 children.

Suicide was rare among the Mandan. The only instances
762 remembered by Mandan informants were immediately following
775 the last smallpox epidemic. When a household had been
nearly exterminated, the remaining females frequently took
their lives. Crows Heart thought that suicides were buried and
that their spirits did not reach the spirit world. Scattercorn
remembered hearing of two girls who hanged themselves in
1837 in the village where her father lived and said that they were
placed on the scaffold which was built by her father whose sister
sent the spirits away at the end of four days.

682 The last murder of a male occurred among the Mandan in
1820, part of the Mandan separating from the village group to
627 live on Eagle Nose Butte until 1823, when the relatives of the
murdered man invited them to return to Fort Clark Village.
One who had been murdered was treated as though he had been
killed in battle or had died a natural death. There was the usual
preparation of the body by the relatives of the father's clan.
The murderer, if caught, was killed by the murdered man's
male siblings or clansmen, and his body was buried at a distance
[766] from the village. No rites were performed to send his spirit
away. The murder of a woman by another woman was treated
lightly and settled by a payment of goods.

The Mandan, and in later years the Hidatsa also, were accus-
765 tomed to collect the bones of their relatives after the scaffolds
614 on which they were placed had rotted and fallen to the ground.
The skulls were taken to a place adjacent to the scaffolds and
778 there arranged in circles of which there were a number near
each village. Scattercorn claimed that the skulls of each circle
were of closely related people who had belonged to the same
clan and that these shrines enhanced the "sacred powers" of
the Woman Above bundles which were a part of the shrine.[4]
If these were clan shrines, the practice of arranging the circles
according to clans must have been abandoned after moving to
Like-a-Fishhook Village, as there were only two or three circles
at most, and the Hidatsa made simultaneous use of these shrines

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[4] See Catlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–52, for an eyewitness description of these circles.

for the disposal of the skulls of their dead. The other bones were 765
gathered and wrapped in a hide before being buried in the village 614
refuse or along the river and creek banks. 778

The custom of bringing back the skulls of those who died or 765
were killed while away from the village was continued until the
Mandan were placed on individual land allotments. When one 778
died while away from the village, the body was wrapped in robes and either placed in a tree, a crevice among the rocks, or a shallow grave covered with rocks. The body was left there for one year, when it became the duty of the father's sister to make provision for its return. If the summer buffalo-hunting camp was in the vicinity of the grave, she would pay some man to obtain the skull, or she secured it herself if the party passed near by. The skull was wrapped in white sage and carried in a soft leather bag. It was considered sacred and was prayed to. Young men who addressed it as father would request permission to fast near it. When the party reached the village, the skull became a part of one of the skull circles.

After the Mandan were placed on individual allotments on 764
the Fort Berthold Reservation, it was customary to place the 777
dead in boxes and trunks or to wrap them in robes and blankets which were placed in crevices in rocks or on high hills. Those who were closely affiliated with one of the churches were prevailed upon to have their dead buried in the church cemetery. Some bodies were unburied as late as 1928. For a number of years after moving onto individual allotments, a skull circle was maintained on a hill a short distance east of the Tom Smith farm, but in later years the skulls were not removed.

[p. 102 is blank]

INTRODUCTION TO MANDAN CEREMONIALISM

796 177 FEW Mandan bundle transfer ceremonies had been performed during the thirty years preceding this study, and the information secured on the former ceremonial activities was based on observations and participation of informants or the informal instructions received of former bundle-holders. Medicine feasts to the bundles were held at irregular intervals, but the forced change from village to rural life when the tribe was placed on family allotments scattered throughout the Reservation, the extinction of the buffalo, and the termination of intertribal warfare in large measure led to the abandonment of the ceremonies. The first of the major ceremonies to be dropped was the annual summer Okipa, which was last performed about 1890. At the time this study was being made, the old women of the Goose Society were accustomed to meet annually during the summer, and some of the old men were using the fish traps for which the ancient rites were still employed. A few men still maintained eagle-trapping lodges along the Little Missouri River, where they were accustomed to go during the fall months to trap eagles and hunt deer.

796 778 Most of the principal tribal bundles were preserved by the children of former custodians. White Calf had the Lone Man bundle; Calf Woman had the buffalo masks for the Okipa and a Woman Above bundle; Ben Benson had two of the turtle drums, and Scattercorn had the other; Scattercorn also had Moves Slowly's Hoita and Corn ceremony bundles except the portions that had been accidentally burned; Foolish Woman had his father's Star bundle; Little Owl had Hits on Back's Sigaṛaga bundle; Mrs. White Duck had the Skull bundle. Feasts were sometimes made to these bundles by relatives largely out of respect to the old people, but lavish disposal of goods was no longer practiced. Crows Heart and his sister, Front Woman, were still making offerings to the eagles and hawks in the spring

796 at the time of the first thunder. The Eagle-trapping bundle
rites were still being performed, and a few old people doctored
•778 those who were ill or had suffered an accident.

The secret character of Mandan ceremonialism contributed
796 to the difficulty of the study. Each Mandan ceremony was
778 secret, and rules providing for the performance of and acquaint-
124 ance with the secret rites differed somewhat between bundles.
In general, it was not possible to complete the study of a cere-
mony with a single informant, owing to overlapping rights in the
bundle, one informant being unwilling to divulge information
belonging to another.

This study doubtlessly does not cover all ceremonies per-
formed by the Mandan after 1837. Informants claim that all
tribal rites were preserved through the smallpox epidemics of
1782 and 1837. It was possible to obtain intelligible accounts of
all rites mentioned by early travelers to the Mandan villages.
There was, however, a reduction in the number of duplicate
bundles for the same ceremony. When reductions occurred, the
[784] original bundle was preserved. The individual rites introduced
from time to time by the medium of vision instruction were
usually of short duration in the tribe and died out before be-
coming inaugurated into the tribal ceremonial structure. A few
instances of vision bundle experiences are cited in chapter v,
"Personal Bundles and Vision Experiences." Had time permit-
ted, several hundred vision experiences could have been record-
ed, since they were related on many social and ceremonial oc-
casions. Informants never volunteered to relate the sacred
myths or to supply data on a ceremony, nor did they volunteer
information to the effect that they owned certain rights. They
would, however, divulge the names of others having knowledge
of tribal bundles. The writer found that better co-operation was
received from an informant when a simple feast was made to
the bundle. It removed the fear informants felt when relating
the rites.

The writer was impressed with the extreme conservatism of the Mandan. Informants frequently requested a retranslation of a significant portion of a rite to make certain that it had been properly recorded. They recognized variations in myths be-

tween bundle lines. Some informants thought that these 796
bundles must have originated in different villages because their 778●
older people who were living when the tribe occupied two villages 124
had spoken of ceremonial differences between the villages.
They believed that these ceremonial differences went back to
mythological times when the ceremonies were first taught to
the people.

Mandan tribal sacred bundles had these elements in common: 796
each contained objects representing the characters and incidents
of the myth; the rites were dramatizations of the sacred myths; 778
there were prescribed rules of behavior when in the presence of 773
the bundle or while it was open; an incense was always burned 424
while the bundle rites were being performed or when the rites
were terminated; there were songs and a sacred myth which belonged to the bundle; each bundle included a buffalo skull; the ritualistic lore was secret, and payment must be made to the bundle-owner for a knowledge of the rites; there were fixed rules of inheritance for the sale and transfer of the bundle; tribal sanction of a bundle transfer was at a public feast to which those owning related bundles were invited; feasts were made to the bundle by nonowners as a social obligation; and bundle-owners on occasion would give Bundle Renewal feasts to their own bundles to which were invited those owning important tribal bundles.

The Mandan recognize four seasons which were associated 796
with the spring, summer, autumn, and winter buffalo. Since informants 805
could not agree on any other division of the year, it is
highly unlikely that they recognized any other uniform divisions. 221
The year count was important in relating events. Ceremonies were, in general, evenly divided over the year. Ceremonies for success in warfare or doctoring were held at any time. On the other hand, rites relating to agriculture were begun in late winter when the first water birds appeared and were held throughout the summer until the southern flight of these birds had passed. The Okipa was always held during the warmest months, while the Snow Owl, Red Stick, and White Buffalo Cow ceremonies to bring the winter buffalo herds were always held

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796 during the coldest months. Table 3 gives the approximate time
805 of the principal tribal ceremonies.

The Mandan attach great significance to the sacred myths as-
778 sociated with the sacred bundles, and informants constantly ex-
773 plained the relationship of one bundle to another in terms of in-

TABLE 3

APPROXIMATE TIME AND PURPOSE OF PRINCIPAL TRIBAL CEREMONIES

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Approximate Month	Ceremony	Purpose of Ceremony
June to August	Okipa	General tribal welfare Buffalo fertility rites
May	Corn Fertility	To insure good gardens
March to October	Goose Society	Rains and good growing conditions for crops
August to October	Harvest festival	Thanksgiving rites for crops
March to October	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Rain and good growing conditions to insure good gardens
January to January	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Doctoring and warfare
March to October	Corn Pipe	Fertility
September to November	Eagle-trapping rites	To capture eagles
July to September	Eagle-trapping rites	To trap fish
January to January	Eagle-trapping rites	To corral buffaloes
April	Eagle-trapping rites	Success in hunting or warfare
April and November	Big Bird	Warfare Rain
January to January	Small Hawk	Warfare
June to August	Small Hawk	To call buffaloes
December to March	Snow Owl	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Snow Owl	Warfare
March to October	Snow Owl	Rain
January to January	People Above	Warfare Doctoring
January to January	Shell Robe	Warfare Doctoring
December to March	Red Stick	To call winter buffaloes
December to March	White Buffalo Cow	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Bear	Doctoring and warfare
March to November	Snake	Rain Doctoring Warfare

778 cidents mentioned in these myths. For that reason, the sacred
773 myths belonging to the various bundle rites were recorded as
completely as possible and appear in this study in much the same form and detail as they were recorded. It was a customary practice for a Mandan to invite to his lodge one having important tribal bundles and pay him to have the myths related privately. Those having a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were held in high esteem. The sacred myths were considered

secret and were never related publicly. One paying to have the 778
myths related did not receive rights in the ceremony. Instruc- 773
tions in the rites and songs were divulged only to those purchasing the bundle rites.

So far as the writer was able to determine, the ceremonial 796
pattern had been established prior to A.D. 1800 and underwent little change in subsequent years. There was, however, a greater display of goods after the introduction of the horse and the establishment of trading posts.

Matthews wrote: "The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandan of to-day."[1]

The Mandan preserved their rich ceremonialism after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, according to Matthews, who added:

> The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen to-day, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Ft. Clark, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rite, have however, been somewhat mitigated since his day.[2]

In addition to the sacred myths associated with the bundles, 773
there were numerous stories of a magical character which were 424
bought and sold. A few of these myths were recorded in the field but are omitted from this book, since a number of them have already appeared in print.[3] The most popular of these were: (1) the exploits of Spring Buffalo and Corn Silk; (2) Stiff Robe and the Buffaloes of the Four Seasons; (3) Four Wings; (4) Snake Village and Buffalo Village; (5) Sun as a Gambler and Cannibal; and (6) the Pet Magpie.[4]

The First Creator myths also belong in this category. Since 773
this mythological character had a dual personality, in organizing 128

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[1] Washington Matthews, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Language of the Hidatsa* (New York, 1873–74), p. 14.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[3] See Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).

[4] See also the myths recorded below in chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony."

The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of 346
he WaxikEna clan who was known as the custodian of the 614
kipa lodge.[4] His family lived with him in the lodge. The 793
WaxikEna clan, to which Lone Man, traditional founder of the eremony, belonged, met and selected one of their number to ccupy the lodge and protect the ceremonial equipment left here by the various officers of the ceremony. The Mandan, pon joining the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, built a eremonial lodge and selected Arrowhead Earrings as custodian. His family lived in the lodge except when it was needed for a eremony, at which time they removed their lodge property. The family was paid for the use of the lodge or, as Calf Woman xplained, for the trouble they had been put to in preparing the odge for the ceremony. When Arrowhead Earrings died, the odge should have been taken over by another member of the WaxikEna clan. His son-in-law, Never Eats Marrow, although f the Hidatsa Knife clan, was held in such high respect by the Mandan that he was intrusted with the lodge, and his daughter, Calf Woman, who supplied much of the information about this eremony, was born in this lodge. She ultimately acquired the buffalo masks used in the ceremony through purchase from the WaxikEna clan after the buffaloes became extinct and the eremony was no longer being performed.[5]

The repair of the cedar[6] and the wall inclosing it was also in- 778●

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[4] Catlin is possibly in error when he says: "The 'Medicine Lodge,' the largest in 793
he village and seventy-five feet in diameter, with four images (sacrifices of different- 614
oloured and costly cloths) suspended on poles above it, was considered by these eople as a sort of temple, held as strictly sacred, being built and used solely for these 796
our days' ceremonies, and closed during the rest of the year" (George Catlin, *O-Kee-Pa* [Philadelphia, 1867], p. 81).

[5] This is an instance of shifting from clan inheritance commonly occurring since 1845.

[6] Scattercorn in recent years was considered custodian of the sacred cedar, which as placed west of Crows Heart's home. Members of the WaxikEna and Tamisik lans were expected to attend and assist in the repair. Others would come to make offerngs to the cedar at that time, which in recent years consisted chiefly of calicoes. She used one song during the ceremonial repairing of the cedar and inclosure, and it was directed to the four directions.

At the east side of the cedar she would sing:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE (east people)
mikaxo' (big herd. Buffalo cows.)
EhE'nakahoc (I am saying)

masa'numąkE (north people)
maxEnu (one)

At the west side she sang:

ota'numąkE
mikaxo'
EhE'nakahoc

masa'numąkE
nupa (two)

778 793 614 796 trusted to the WaxikEna clan, who could take any articles left at the cedar as an offering for their own use. The amount of goods placed at the cedar during a year was considerable, since sometime during the performance of every ceremony and age-grade society dance a visit was made to the cedar to ask the blessings of Lone Man, and some article of value was placed there. In the case of strictly winter ceremonies held in the winter camp where a cedar was never erected, offerings frequently were not made to the cedar. The cedar together with the surrounding wall and willow band was called Minimi'tahEdE, meaning "the retreat of the waters."

778 614 421 In theory, goods deposited at the cedar became the property of any member of the WaxikEna clan who happened to be passing by. In practice, however, the goods finally reached the old men and women of that clan. Those appropriating too much goods for personal use lost status in the village. Those living near the cedar had an advantage over those more distantly removed in reaching the goods first. Apparently there was no tendency to take the offerings away at once. Scattercorn told how a very beautiful robe hung on the wall several days before a man removed it and then not until a number of people had gathered there and to whom he announced that he had observed that a feeble clan brother was in need of a new robe since the one he was then wearing was shabby.

621 619 778 Each fixed village unit had its own complete set of officers. Crows Heart explained that the tribe was formerly divided into a number of fixed bands, each one occupying one or more villages. His mother belonged to the Is'topa ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves"). There were also the Nuptadi, Ma'nana'-rE[7] ("Those Who Quarreled"), Awigaxa,[8] and Nuitadi. Each of

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At the north side she sang:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE
mi-ka-xo'
EhE'nakahoc
masa'numąkE
na'mini (three)

At the south side she sang:

ota'numąkE
mikaxo'
EhE'nakahoc.
masa'numąkE
to'pa (four)

[7] Other informants thought that the Mananada was not a fixed band but any small group who separated from a principal village when quarrels occurred.

[8] According to tradition, this group lived near the Grand River until late prehistoric times and did not practice the Okipa until they moved to the Painted Woods

these groups set up a cedar whenever a new village was built. 621
Each had its own set of officers, but the turtles originally belonged 619
to the Nuptadi band into which the original Lone Man
was once born, and it was necessary to borrow them whenever 778
the Okipa was being performed in one of the other villages. They were the common property of the WaxikEna clan. Crows Heart explained that quarrels sometimes occurred in a village, with part of the population breaking away, but that in such instances no cedar would be erected or ceremonial lodge built until it was decided to make the village a permanent one. Scattercorn thought that the groups were stable, although a few families were always leaving one group and joining another. She thought that fission of villages was a difficult thing, as new Okipa officers would be needed.

The Mandan have a number of creation stories which were a 773
part of the sacred myths of the bundles and their associated ceremonies. The sacred myth of the Corn ceremony relates the exploits of the Corn People, who formerly lived below the surface of the earth beside a lake before coming to the surface under the chieftainship of Good Furred Robe. The Buffalo People, who were the performers of the Okipa, were created on the earth near Heart River by Lone Man after the lands were made. In mythological times there was an earth-lodge village of hawks to the east, bears to the north, eagles and other large birds including the Sun and Moon in the sky, to mention but a few of them. The Heart River region became a meeting place of peoples of all these groups. The Corn People migrated northward and united with the Buffalo People. Other peoples were added from time to time through intermarriage and were identified
according to their respective bundles. It was believed that [787]
the visions one had were dependent on the mythological group
to which he belonged.

The Animal rites of the Okipa ceremony are reported to have 796
originally belonged to the Buffalo People, who were created in 773
the vicinity of Heart River by Lone Man and are a dramatization
of the freeing of the animals from Dog Den Butte. As new groups united with them, modifications were instituted in the cere-

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region shortly before the first smallpox epidemic. Their emphasis was on corn rites instituted by Good Furred Robe while living far to the south.

796 mony. In the beginning, the people lived an extremely simple
life without tools and weapons. At that time there were no societies
773 and only a few simple rites, one of which was a Buffalo
Dance in which one man danced. It is believed that, as time passed, the people acquired skills along many lines; there was a corresponding development of mutual obligations; new societies and ceremonies were adopted which grew in complexity. It is also believed that there was a parallel development of the Okipa ceremony from the simple Buffalo Dance to its complex form as performed until seventy-five years ago, and that the cultural growth of the tribe was divided into four periods which were represented by the four days of the ceremony.

The principal characters in the ceremony were Lone Man (NumakmaxEna), Speckled Eagle (Hoita), Giver of Ceremony (Koni'saka), and the singers.

796 Lone Man was without question the tribe's most important deity. The original Lone Man belonged to the WaxikEna clan,
776 and a bundle was founded which contained all the articles used
614 by the Lone Man impersonator during the ceremony. Inheritance
•778 was through the WaxikEna clan. Before the smallpox
epidemics, there were at least two similar and graded bundles in each village, and the men holding rights in the Okipa met to select from their number those who would officiate during the next ceremony.

796 According to tradition the original Lone Man established the
rule that the bundle should belong to the WaxikEna clan.
778 However, before he left the tribe, he desired a white buffalo
424 robe owned by his brother's son. The young man offered to exchange
his robe for Lone Man's bundle, and this transaction was made, the bundle and office passing temporarily from the WaxikEna clan. The principal bundle was kept, after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, at Nuptadi Village, and a secondary
[564] bundle was kept by the other village group. Women could inherit and buy the bundle but could not officiate in the rites. Beaver's brother owned a bundle originally at Nuptadi Village prior to 1837. When he died, his sister transferred the bundle to her daughters, Shells and Grows First, who were both of the WaxikEna clan. Little Eagle, who had married the two sisters, paid them for the right to officiate in the ceremony. He then

paid Big Turtle, Hoita in the same ceremony, for instructions. 796 Little Eagle, who was of the Speckled Eagle clan, was killed in 778 warfare, and Cuts His Horn (WaxikEna clan) bought the right to officiate from the two sisters, and, not being a close relative, 424 a new bundle was established by Big Turtle and the other men having Okipa rights. He officiated once or twice until there was a male in the main bundle line qualified to officiate. Two Chiefs (Prairie Chicken clan) married the two sisters and assumed the office of Lone Man after paying to receive instructions from Big Turtle and the other officers of the Okipa. White Calf, son of Shells (corn) and Little Eagle, bought the rights in the bundle from his mother and received his instructions from Two Chiefs. He never officiated as Lone Man in the ceremony after acquiring the bundle, since the ceremony was prohibited by the army officer in charge of the Reservation. White Calf was asked who would be the legitimate successor after him, and he gave this explanation:

> I could sell my rights to men of my clan, the WaxikEna, three times while still retaining my original rights. Usually only one or two sales were made. Those sales would be to men who had dreamed of Lone Man. People had a great respect for original bundles which had passed through many hands, so possession of new bundles did not give one much prestige unless he had given many feasts to the bundle, and that was hard to do.
>
> Who would receive my original bundle depended on many things. If my wife who helped me put on the feast when I got the bundle were living and had remarried to one of my clan, her husband would have first chance to take the bundle. If she were not alive, then my brothers would have first chance. If none were living, my sister could take the bundle, and her husband could get instructions from the other Okipa officers before officiating in the ceremony. Then the bundle would pass to her son when he was mature.

Before a bundle was transferred or sold, there was a period of private instruction by either one holding Lone Man rights or one of the other officers of the ceremony. The transfer was made final at a medicine feast attended by all persons holding Okipa rights. Goods and food were accumulated beforehand. Eminent men of the tribe offered their prayers for the giver's success and received some articles for their part in the ceremony. This public feast was a means of notifying the village of the legitimacy of the bundle transfer.

The bundles were identical as to content. They contained the 778 following items:

778
1. A buffalo-skin apron with buffalo-hair strands attached
2. Flat staff with the moon and thunderbird carved on one side, a star and the sun on the other
3. A stuffed raven
4. Two-piece wooden pipe inlaid with a dark-colored stone
5. Jackrabbit-skin collar and anklets
6. Headdress of porcupine trimmed with jackrabbit skin
7. A set of buffalo teeth
8. A war-bonnet trailer of alternating raven and swan feathers
9. A buffalo-hair headdress with a stuffed owl attached
10. Four buffalo tails with white buffalo hair attached
11. A staff decoration consisting of a buffalo tail trimmed with weasel fur

Bundle-owners were custodians of the turtle drums, the sacred cedar, and the ceremonial lodge.

796 776 773 The office of Hoita ranked equal in importance with that of the Lone Man during the performance of the Okipa but otherwise was unimportant. Hoita or Speckled Eagle represented the People Above but had had no part in the creation of the earth according to the mythology. He was born into the tribe where he was recognized for his supernatural powers. Because of jealousy over a white buffalo robe, he imprisoned the animals in Dog Den Butte. When he learned that another who claimed to be his "son" through the medium of the "walking" ceremony was holding the Okipa, he freed the animals and agreed to co-operate with Lone Man in performing the Okipa.

796 614 The rule was that the Hoita should belong to either the WaxikEna or Tamisik clan, and there is no evidence that this rule was ever broken, at least in the memory of my informants. During the period of readjustment following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, Big Turtle (Tamisik clan) held the office. He sold rights in the office to Moves Slowly (WaxikEna clan), who impersonated Hoita, while Big Turtle served as director of the singers. Moves Slowly sold his rights to Iron Eyes (WaxikEna), who officiated, while Moves Slowly assisted the singers. The right to officiate in the Okipa ceremony was given at a public feast.

796 The Hoita directed the ceremonies performed inside the ceremonial lodge. He supervised the fasters and saw that none who had interrupted their fasting returned to the lodge. He directed the selection of characters represented in the dances and supervised the painting, indicating the time when each rite was to be

796 some willow sticks. He said, "I would like to have a foolish person who looks like a human to paint his body black with white spots and carry a stick representing his penis." That was OxinhEdE, the foolish one. The one selected to assume that part came forward and received one of the sticks.

Then he would ask for a star to join in, and another would take a stick. Then he said, "I would like to have this dry meat represented. I want to have a Black Bear in it," and another took a stick. "I would like to have a grizzly bear."

Then he said, "I want to have a woman in it. I want someone to be the bald eagle. I want a hawk in this ceremony. I want a meadowlark." Men would come and take the sticks.

•[778]

FIG. 15.—Present condition of the sacred cedar

He would say, "I want to select the good buffaloes. I want four of them to be the real buffaloes." Four came and took sticks. "We must have a First Creator here too. I want an antelope." When he came to the antelope, more than one came and took the remainder of the sticks. There would be many antelopes. That ended the naming of the characters so far as I remember, but I know I forgot some of them.

The antelopes would go out and cover their bodies with mud and have sticks for horns. The hawk would have long braided grass and a ball at the end for a club. The bald-headed eagle would have the braided grass for his club. Black Bear would be dressed in a black bearskin.

Third day: "Everything Comes Back Day."—The painting of the Bull Dancers and all the characters represented during this day began at daybreak and continued until nearly noon. The special painters prepared the eight Bull Dancers and the one

Chapter V

PERSONAL BUNDLES AND VISION EXPERIENCES

778 428 POSSESSION of tribal bundles inherited from the preceding generation was not the good fortune of all men and women. Some were unable to acquire hereditary tribal bundles because they were not eligible either through birth or through marriage. Since the oldest son usually inherited his parents' bundle or bundles through the mother's lineage, younger sons and the daughters could, at most, hold partial rights through assistance in the transfer ceremonies and later became the titular bundle-owner should the older brother die. There are numerous instances of bundle transfers to a daughter and son-in-law in cases where there were no sons, providing the daughter and family were occupying her parents' lodge and especially when tribal custom prescribed clan inheritance of the bundle.

787 864 785 All males and females, regardless of bundles then owned or expected to be inherited at a later date, sought personal powers of the supernatural during their younger years. In exceptional instances the quest of supernatural power was continued until forty-five or fifty years of age. Fasting began at eight or nine, the parents recommending fasting and pointing out distinguished men who had been successful because of visions acquired through that practice. Parents never scolded or urged a son to fast. It was felt that a child's reputation was predetermined by the supernatural and that he would learn his destiny through the desire to fast. Parents would repeat their own experiences with the supernatural, either vision-inspired or through purchase. Small boys would be advised to fast a day or two during the Okipa ceremony to begin with and extend the length of their fasting at subsequent performances of that ceremony. Only four occasions provided formalized fasting. These were: during the Okipa ceremony, while trapping eagles, while

Calf Woman told of an old Mandan with ten sons who instructed them each to take one of his teeth to be carried in battle. After he died, he was placed on a scaffold for one year, when the teeth were taken by the sons and kept as sacred objects. The skull was placed at one of the skull circles near a People Above shrine, and the other bones were buried. He had been very successful in warfare but died of a boil. 766 778

The skulls of those who died away from the village were usually brought back a year later, if requested by the relatives, by either a man or woman of the father's clan. It was customary to have a woman bring back the skull if summer village hunting expeditions were in the vicinity; otherwise a man leaving on a war expedition was delegated to secure the skull. Skulls brought back were placed at one of the shrines, of which there were a number adjacent to each village.

All men and women fasted, and most people had vision experiences. All were medicine men just as all were warriors or hunters. Some acquired reputations as medicine men just as some had good reputations as warriors or hunters. There was no grouping into cults according to vision; such division as did occur was based on ownership of related hereditary tribal bundles, a system much like the Pawnee except for a greater flexibility deriving from the four-sale right. It cannot be said that inherited bundle-owners were higher in tribal regard than those who practiced doctoring or led successful war parties. Each stood on his own record. Such advantage as hereditary bundle-owners had over others came from their possession of tribal lore belonging to the bundle. Since each hereditary bundle-owner was instructed in the traditional history of the bundle, he became an authority on the early history of the tribe. Four Bears rose to eminence and became second chief without inheriting any bundles of his parents other than a sacred shield and rain-calling robe. He had a successful war record and did much fasting. That would never have elevated him to more than a war leader, but the many feasts he made to which the older hereditary bundle-owners were invited gave him the necessary prestige. He gave the Okipa twice. Crows Heart had a good war record but never rose to eminence. His home being near a river crossing, people were always stopping there for meals. Nevertheless, he gave few for- 787 554 785 795

787
554 mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was con-
785 sidered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more
795 people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal
●778 bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much
428 higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary
171 tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary
432 bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they
became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the NumakmaxEna bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

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[17] A Hidatsa band.

796 After the tribe had completed its migration and had reached
773 the Heart River region, the three brothers died. Good Furred
778 Robe never married, but, before he died, he sold his sacred robe
and pipe to his brother's son, who preserved it as a sacred bundle belonging to the Corn ceremonies. The three brothers' skulls were taken from the scaffolds and kept in a leather bag as a second Corn ceremony bundle.

778 The Sacred Robe bundle contained the following articles: (1) a robe said to have belonged to Good Furred Robe, on which was painted a map of the world showing the Missouri River as a large snake and the hole through which the Corn People reached the earth; (2) Good Furred Robe's pipe, carved from wood, the stem being carved to represent a goose's head and neck, the mouthpiece being the goose's bill; (3) a headdress of foxskins; (4) a bundle of young white sage; (5) moccasins made of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside; (6) a clay pot; (7) a strip of elkhide; (8) a dried gourd for a rattle; (9) a substance resembling and representing corn silk; (10) one ear of white flint corn, one ear of yellow corn, and one ear of white soft corn; (11) a narrow strip of badger skin; (12) blackbird heads and the head of one green-headed duck; (13) a whitetail deer skull with antlers attached to place the bundle on; (14) three dried squash; (15) one sunflower head; (16) a robe made of kitfox hides; and (17) a braid of cornhusks.

796 The ceremonial significance of many of the articles in the
773 bundle are self-evident, particularly Items 8, 9, 10, 14, and 15,
778 since these are products from the gardens. The robe was made
from a buffalo heifer's hide. Scattercorn explained that such hides, especially those killed in the late fall, had beautiful hair. The paintings on the hide depicted the traditional migration of the tribe from the mouth of the Mississippi and expressed the close association of the tribe with the Missouri River section of the Plains. The Missouri River was depicted as a huge snake. The robe was believed to have supernatural powers over the weather, and those who wished to have rain for their crops paid the robe-owner to open the bundle and sprinkle water on the robe. He would sing the "Song of the Robe" while sprinkling the robe with water shaken from a bundle of white sage (Item 4 of the bundle). The robe was considered the most important ar-

ticle in the bundle and was believed to have once belonged to 796
Good Furred Robe, who wore it during the various Corn rites. 778 ●

The pipe differed little from other ceremonial pipes. The 773
bowl and part of the stem were carved from wood. There appeared to be a stone or clay lining to the bowl. A second piece of wood was carved to resemble a goose's head and neck. This pipe was owned by Good Furred Robe and, according to tradition, used by him in the ceremonies.

The headdress of foxskins (Item 3), badger fur (Item 11), kitfox robe (Item 16), and strip of elkhide (Item 7) were represented in the bundle because these animals assisted in bringing the people out of the ground.

The sage belonging to the bundle was the kind kept in all [515]
earth lodges and used by the women at the close of a day's work in the gardens to cleanse themselves by rubbing their body and clothing with it. It was said that, in ancient times, worms and diseases were removed by this simple household cleansing rite.

The dried gourd, used as a rattle, was symbolic of Good Furred Robe's brother, Uses His Head for a Rattle, who had assisted in the early Corn ceremonies. The braided cornhusks represented the other brother, Cornhusk Earrings, while all the other articles representing products from the garden were symbolic of Waving Corn Stalk, their sister, who repelled the Sun by walking through the gardens waving her robe, thus protecting her gardens from the heat.

The blackbird heads, duck head, and deer skull have a dual symbolic significance. They represent the birds that come north in the spring and the deer that inhabit the woodlands, but they are also the helpers of Old Woman Who Never Dies. In that sense the bundle ritualism is psychologically related to the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and rites.

The second traditionally related Corn ceremony bundle is known as the Skull bundle (see Fig. 24). The contents of this bundle are: (1) Good Furred Robe's skull; (2) Cornhusk Earring's skull; (3) Uses Head for Rattle's skull; (4) a bundle of young white sage; (5) a substance resembling and representing corn silk; (6) a headdress of foxskins; and (7) a wooden pipe.

At the time this study was being made, Scattercorn was own- 778
er of the Robe bundle and Mrs. White Duck (Rattles Medicine) 796

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owned the Skull bundle. The former was a Mandan woman of the Nuptadi band, and the latter was a descendant of the small Awaxawi band of Hidatsa. Scattercorn had been told by her father that a long time ago the two bundles belonged to one man and were kept together. They were inherited together, generation after generation, until one owner had two sons who wanted the Corn ceremony rights when the bundle was divided, one taking the robe and the other the skulls. Eventually the Skull bundle was taken to a west-side village of the Heart River group, where it remained until the smallpox epidemic of about 1782, when it was brought northward by the Mandan, finally becoming the principal Corn ceremony bundle of Mi'tutanka Village, where it was owned by a Mandan named Red Bird at the time of the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

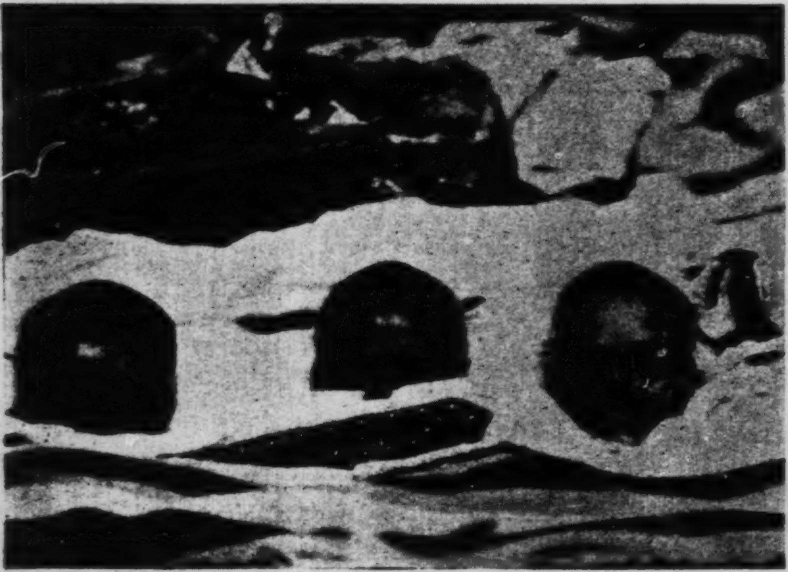

FIG. 24.—Skull bundle of the Corn ceremonies. Characters: Good Furred Robe Cornhusk Earring, and Uses Head for Rattle.

The Robe bundle belonged to the east-side Mandan who migrated from the Round Lodge and Yellow Earth villages and established a village between Mi'tutanka and the Knife River Hidatsa villages. The bundle became associated with the Nup-

tadi band of Mandan. Immediately after the smallpox epidemic 796
of 1837, both bundles were kept at Nuptadi but had different 778
owners. Crows Belt owned the Robe bundle and Red Bird owned the Skull bundle. A year after the smallpox epidemic, Red Bird lost a son from smallpox and contemplated putting the bundle away on the hills, the customary method of relinquishing an unsold bundle, when his son-in-law, Bear Looks Around, an Awaxawi, indicated a desire to purchase the bundle.[2]

The Mandan who owned rights in all the Corn ceremonies met and approved the transfer, since at that time there was considerable intertribal marriage and the principal Mandan Corn bundle containing Good Furred Robe's robe was not involved in the sale. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle, which he later transferred to his "younger brother" (sister's son), Poor Wolf, who transferred it to Mrs. White Duck, his daughter, the present owner.

The Robe bundle was transferred from Crows Belt to Moves Slowly, last head of the Corn ceremonies at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Having no "younger brother," and since no male of his clan indicated a desire to purchase the bundle, he sold his rights to his daughter, Scattercorn.[3] She lost the robe and most of the bundle when their earth lodge burned but saved the pipe. She replaced part of the bundle but not the robe.

A second group of somewhat more complicated Corn ceremonies was associated with Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles. Four groups of bundles belonged to these rites. They were:

1. *Principal bundles.*—These consisted of a large number of articles symbolic of characters and objects referred to in the Old Woman Who Never Dies myth. There was no full bundle in existence at the time of this study. Information was supplied largely by Scattercorn and supplemented by isolated bits of information from a number of informants whose families owned secondary bundles associated with the principal bundles and containing varying numbers of articles similar to those in the principal bundles. From this scattered information, the inform- [616
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[2] Father-in-law to son-in-law or older brother to younger brother constitute moiety inheritance when moieties are exogamous.

[3] Scattercorn died in 1940. Her rights in the Corn ceremony were transferred to Mrs. Little Owl, a clan daughter.

796 ants were in full agreement on some points. They stated that those with singer rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies 778 bundles were singers for the Women's Goose Society and that greater emphasis was placed on warfare rites. There was no reference in the Robe and Skull myths or rites to warfare except in the incident when Good Furred Robe founded the Black Mouth or Brave Warrior Society and gave a sunflower plant to each of the two bravest men, who were to carry them on war expeditions. The following articles were contained in a principal bundle: corn basket, elkskin robe, clay pot, wooden pipe, deer skull and antlers, corn, beans, squash, sunflowers, blackbird heads, bull-snake skin, bundle of young white sage, duck heads, swan feathers, goose heads, strip of grizzly-bear skin, gourd rattles, and a scalp. Owners of principal bundles held singer status. Bobtail Bull, so far as it was possible to determine, was the only Mandan with this status surviving the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

778 2. *Secondary bundles.*—Those holding secondary bundle rights were exceedingly numerous. Such bundles were hereditary in 425 character but followed two distinct patterns. For instance, a 432 qualified individual wishing to buy the Snake rites from Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles could either purchase rights from a Snake bundle-owner or could go to a principal bundle-owner and make the purchase. The purchase pattern was the same in both instances. White Calf purchased his Snake bundle from his parents, although his father was dead at the time of the transfer, and Bears Ghost bought from his father, Foolish Chief. On the other hand, Bobtail Bull sold the Snake rites to his son-in-law from a principal bundle.[4] He could do that without subdividing the bundle, since four sales were permissible. Bear bundles could be transferred or made up in the same manner. Men or women either could buy individually or could purchase jointly. There was a difference between group purchases instituted by a man from that of a female purchase. When a man bought, his wives, sisters, and brothers could purchase jointly. However, when a woman initiated the purchase, her sisters, brothers, and their wives could purchase jointly, but the husband could

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[4] There was a tendency to sell secondary bundles to sons, whereas clan inheritance by transfer to a sister's son or a son-in-law was generally practiced for original or principal tribal bundles.

not participate in the transfer or hold rights in the bundle. The desire to own one of these secondary bundles could come either from vision instruction or from a sense of responsibility to perpetuate the parents' bundles. When vision instructed, sale was made by an owner of the father's clan having rights in a bundle; otherwise the vision recipient could make up a bundle according to the instructions received in the dream. In the latter case, although having as a personal god one of the characters represented in the Old Woman Who Never Dies rites, he was not considered qualified to attend Corn ceremonies and receive gifts. 778 425 432

3. *Composite bundles.*—This was the result of incorporation of Old Woman Who Never Dies rites into the ceremonialism associated with the Robe bundles. Scattercorn had heard her father say that in former times these were separate ceremonies. Crows Belt did not have rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony. After the death of Bobtail Bull, Moves Slowly bought Crows Belt's Robe bundle and proceeded to purchase rights in additional ceremonies pertaining to garden crops, thereby building up a reputation as leader in all of the Corn ceremonies. Whereas some men acquired status in warfare, others rose to prominence by purchasing ceremonial bundles. Crows Heart thought that one was about as hard to do as the other. Buying into the ceremonies required a great deal of material wealth which had either to be prepared or bought. It is interesting to observe a parallelism between the records of Moves Slowly and of Poor Wolf, who purchased the Skull bundle at about the same time as Moves Slowly acquired the Robe bundle. There was always rivalry between the two men, who were at that time living at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Moves Slowly was eligible to inherit the Skull bundle, since his grandfather through the male line had owned rights in the bundle. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle before Moves Slowly was old enough to make the purchase. Crows Belt, who had no legitimate heir, sold the Robe bundle to Moves Slowly shortly after Poor Wolf secured the Skull bundle from Bear Looks Around. Both undertook the purchase of rights in related ceremonies, and the rivalry became keen in their efforts to build up the reputation of their bundles. Moves Slowly bought Hoita rights in the Okipa, assisted his brother, Bear on the Water, in 796 778 554

796 778 554 buying their father's Holy Woman bundle, learned to bring down the spirits in a sleight-of-hand act, learned how to find lost articles, and had every god pertaining to corn as his personal guardian. Poor Wolf (Awaxawi) acquired Earthmaking, River, Old Woman Who Never Dies, Imitating Buffalo, Painted Red Stick, and Eagle-trapping bundles. Both were singers in the Women's Goose societies. For twenty years these two men were rivals because Poor Wolf acquired the Skull bundle which legitimately should have gone to Moves Slowly. When this rivalry ended, no other men owned rights in so many ceremonies as these men. Poor Wolf consolidated the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundle and River bundle with the Skull bundle for the Corn ceremonies, but the others were kept separate. Moves Slowly did likewise. Moves Slowly had the right to give out seed in the Spring Fertility ceremony, but Poor Wolf could not do this, since Bear Looks Around had failed to buy that right of Red Bird, and there were none to purchase from except Moves Slowly, whose price no doubt would have been high to a rival. Moves Slowly enjoyed exclusive authority in the Spring Fertility rites of distributing sacred seed corn, two kernels being given to each women, who paid him for thus assuring her that the seed she planted would germinate.

During middle age these two men worked hard and were poor in material wealth, since it took all they could acquire to perform the bundle transfers, but their wealth measured in social status and ceremonial lore grew until each became an authority on the traditional history of his respective group. Both were selected as village or peace chiefs of their respective tribes.

796 778 4. *Sacred pot ceremonies.*[5]—Two large clay pots were a part of the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony at Nuptadi Village when that group lived above Burnt Creek on the east side of the Missouri River. The information that reached Scattercorn through her father indicated that the ceremony was one of rainmaking. People would pay to have the ceremony given, at which time the pots were taken out. These pots were said to have been given to the Nuptadi by Old Woman Who Never Dies with the understanding that, whenever they were used, her image would

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[5] See my "Hidatsa Ceremonial Life" for an account of the Hidatsa version of this ceremony.

be erected before the Okipa lodge, where the ceremony was 796
held. One pot was symbolic of the Old Woman and the other 778
represented her husband, a large snake. The owner kept them in a storage chamber near the head of his lodge covered with a hide when not in use. Unlike the Awaxawi pots, which were used as drums, the Nuptadi pots were used to prepare food for the feast. When the Sioux destroyed Nuptadi Village after the first smallpox epidemic, the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundle-owner was killed defending his lodge and his bundles which were burned. The other similar bundles did not have these large pots, so these special Mandan rain-making feasts ceased, and they went to Awaxawi Village, where a somewhat similar ceremony was performed, except that the pots were used as drums.

Whenever one paid to have the sacred pots brought out for the rain-making feast, the bundle-owner erected an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies. This was composed of a pole to which was tied a robe with white sage at the top, leggings, moccasins, a corn-stirring paddle, and a corn basket so arranged as to resemble a person.

The following account indicates the native theory of the 796
function of the corn bundles in Mandan religious life. 778

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF CORN BUNDLES 159

The Robe bundle-owner[6] prays each year for good crops, but people lately have not followed the rules of the tribe, so the crops are unusually poor. Only wooden pipes can be used in these ceremonies. A few years ago at Mandan, Crows Heart was asked to officiate in the pageant representing the first meeting of the Mandans with the whites. Someone at Mandan, not knowing our ways, gave him a red pipe to use. He offered smoke to the four directions, and that night all our gardens froze.

I bought my rights in this bundle from my father, Moves Slowly, when he grew old and his eyes were poor. I was the first woman to own one of these bundles, for the bundle usually went to the oldest son.[7] People dreaming of the things grown in the garden or of the animals and birds associated with corn asked my father to officiate when a feast was given to their medicine. At such

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[6] The Robe bundle is possibly the best of all the tribal bundles known to students of Mandan culture. George F. Will and George E. Hyde in *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis, Mo., 1917), pp. 244, 262–68, relate in considerable detail the function of the Mandan Corn Priest. O. G. Libby, secretary of the North Dakota Historical Society, has prepared a painting of the thirty-three owners of the bundle, of which Moves Slowly is the last, and secured much information on the history of the bundle.

[7] Informant has, no doubt, been influenced by Hidatsa customs. See above where actual inheritance is given as taken from genealogies.

796 times he painted a picture of the plant or animal dreamed of on a robe for the person giving the feast; for this service he was paid robes, horses, or blankets.

•778 159 He was the head singer in the Goose Women's ceremony and was the owner of the songs addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies, but he bought those extra. In the spring, the Goose Women's Society danced under his direction, and he supervised the sale of the society to the younger women; he officiated in the ceremonial transfer of the holy objects belonging to the society.

[787] 796 778 241 Someone during the winter always dreamed that the corn crop would be large if he or she put on a feast to the corn. The one having the vision then sent word by someone of his father's clan to ask the Corn bundle-owner to take charge. The giver prepared robes and food. At the appointed time, which was when the waterbirds came north, all those with rights met. Participating were the Corn bundle-owner, all those with the medicine of garden products or associated animals and birds, the Black Mouth Men's Society, and Goose Women's Society. The Corn bundle was carried into the earth lodge and opened at the entrance to the sweat lodge, where it was laid out on a deer skull and elkskin. Songs were addressed to the Corn Bundle People who came out of the ground; additional songs were addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Only four stones were used in the sweat, each one representing one of the Sun's visits to Waving Corn Stalk. The stones were our enemies just as the Sun had been. The giver of the ceremony named four enemies he wished to conquer while the stones were taken into the sweat lodge. Those entering the sweat lodge imitated the geese and waterbirds while the Corn bundle-owner sang his four songs. Those not entering the sweat lodge were sprinkled with water dipped from the clay vessel belonging to the bundle. Corn and beans often came up into peoples throats while the ceremony was in progress; those people danced and rubbed their throats with sage to put the objects back down. Food was served to the Corn bundle and then to the guests.

The giver of the ceremony gave each person attending a robe or present and received in return a prayer for the giver's success. When the ceremony was completed, an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies was made from an elk robe and lashed to a pole in front of the giver's lodge.

The Corn bundle-owner was expected to ask the help of the spirits who sent good crops. In the spring before seeding time, he held the ceremony of cleansing the seeds so that they would germinate. Early on the appointed day he went to the top of his earth lodge where he faced to the south singing the Corn bundle songs to call the spirits of the corn back from the south. He held a vessel containing shelled corn. Each woman making a garden came to him and received two seeds of each kind of corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash, paying for them and the prayers he addressed to his gods. Payment was made in elk robes, blankets, and other clothing.

778 241 784 The Corn bundle-owner underwent numerous taboos while the crops were growing. Owners of minor Corn bundles prepared his food beginning four days before the cleansing of the seed. When the previous year's crop was poor, he lived apart from all women until the crop was ripe and the seed corn for the next season had been gathered. He painted his body red and wore moccasins of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside. He wore a robe all summer long. He was not permitted to eat plums, berries, or corn. All the people of the tribe knew that after the cleansing ceremony the restrictions went into effect and were careful not to violate any of the rules lest the crop fail. Each woman kept

a bunch of sage in her lodge and rubbed her body after returning from the 778
fields to cleanse herself from the spirits in the gardens. Years ago, it is said 241
that, when this was done, worms came out of the women's bodies. The Corn 784
bundle-owner walked through the gardens several times during the summer,
carrying the pipe and singing the Corn songs.

When the weather was too hot, too cold, or too dry, all those with Corn 796
medicine rights met, and the Goose Women's Society joined them to dance
and pray. While the ceremony was in progress, people of each household 782
brought presents and offered them for relief from the adverse weather. 778

Many women pledged a ceremony to the Corn if good crops were sent by 241
the gods. A person making such a vow, first prepared an elkhide robe and paid the Corn Priest to officiate. When the time appointed for the offering came and after the crop was harvested, she carried the robe to her field, where she tied it to a cottonwood pole and covered the pole with corn on the ear until the pile reached nearly to the robe. The young men of the tribe were invited to come and charge the robe, the first one there taking it. At a signal, the young men searched for the meat under the pile of corn. The Corn bundle-owner received four things for his part in the ceremony. Many different women gave this ceremony each fall when the crops were abundant.

The Corn bundle-owner officiated whenever corn was sold to people of 778
other tribes. It was thought that it must be done or the spirits in the corn [439]
might leave the Mandan and help the people who took the corn away. He dressed in his ceremonial outfit and "called back" the Corn Spirits.

Whenever a cache of stored corn was opened, four ears of corn were taken [251]
to the Corn bundle-owner as payment for his part in protecting the stored corn.

The order of Corn Priests is as follows:

1. Uses Head for Rattle
2. Brown
3. Pot
4. Bull Leg
5. Acting Foolish (OxinhEdE)
6. Foolish Man
7. Strong Arm
8. Raises Tail
9. Forearm Bone
10. Hunts His Enemy
11. Bull Standing on Land
12. WErukirihEri
13. Enemy
14. Sacred Cedar
15. Cedar Feather
16. Star
17. Head Comes Out
18. Water Bag
19. Coyote
20. Crow
21. WErukirihEri
22. Bloody Knife
23. Garden
24. Tree in Garden
25. Uses His Head for Rattle
26. HoxdEkE
27. Corn Grinder
28. Lying Down
29. Left-Hand Bull
30. Scabby
31. WErukirihEri
32. Crows Belt
33. Moves Slowly
34. Scattercorn
35. Mrs. Little Owl (present owner)

The many references to corn in the mythology express the 241
significance of agriculture to this tribe. Archeological work in 361
their prehistoric sites indicates that economically agriculture 796
has played an important role in shaping the habits of these
people. The primary factor in establishing villages at certain

wanted to, so that the people always had meat. He had good luck on the 773
battlefield and could bring rains for the crops.

Then he was married. Two sisters were brought to him by their father and 539
mother. (This was the custom in olden times. The parents of children of marriageable age would bring them to some eligible man.)

The boy's grandmother is still living. The people downstream from the Knife River used to follow the river up to her place when on the warpath and eat corn with her. She would tell them now many people they would kill.

She became tired of this because they came too often, so she moved down the river about four miles, then up into the hills to the west where she disappeared. Since then she has been one of the Holy Women connected with corn. She must come back to Short Missouri, as people fasting there during the summer dream of her. Grandson went back to the sky and became one of the large stars.

CORN PIPE CEREMONY

This ceremony became extinct after 1837 and is remembered 796
only from tradition. The principal article in its bundle was a 778
sacred wooden pipe. The pipe was kept by Blue Snake Woman when her husband and children died during the smallpox epidemic. She surrendered the bundle to a daughter, who sold the pipe to Black Bear, who died a few years ago. The full bundle ritual was not performed after the smallpox epidemic, since those holding rights or acquainted with the ceremony had died.

The pipe was noted for its supernatural powers in producing 778
winds. It was brought out when the days were warm and sultry 821
to drive away the mosquitoes, so that women would not suffer from their bites while in the gardens. People were not permitted to climb on the lodge in which it was kept. If it was dropped or touched, the wind would blow.

According to tradition, a woman went to the Missouri River 778
for water when the river was at flood stage. Driftwood was float- 773
ing down. When she dipped up the water, she saw the pipe and an ear of yellow flint corn together in the water. She took the pipe and corn home and gave them to her husband, who called all the holy men to tell them of her discovery. They were afraid of the pipe because a high wind came up when one dropped it and did not want to keep it. They put it back in the water, thinking it would float on wherever it was going to. The woman found the pipe and corn four times at four different places where they camped. The holy men concluded that, since they had tried to get rid of it but it kept following them, it should be kept. They thought the corn should be divided among the families. In that way yellow flint corn was introduced in the tribe.

clan or who had occupied unclaimed territory, erected his own 796
lodge, and marked the outlines of pits. Inheritance of trapping 223
sites was through the clan, and one could not secure permanent 425
ownership of a trapping site owned by a man of a different clan. 614
The nearest clan relative took possession of the site upon the
death of the owner if it had not been sold. One could pay for permission to use a particular site for a season from one of a different clan when the owner did not intend to make use of it himself, but he was obliged to use the pits already dug and could
not prepare new ones. In other words, a man could rent a site [427]
from an owner of a different clan, but he could not buy. When
a site had been abandoned so long that its owner was not known, another could claim the site. Evidently little trouble was experienced over claims to sites, since a violator would have been
severely criticized. There was, in addition, a religious taboo, [784]
since both the eagles and the bears belonging to the ritual occupied major bundle status in each tribe, and a trespasser could never have attained a position of prominence in either tribe.

The ritualistic differences between the Mandan and Hidatsa 796
were no greater than those between separate bundle lines within 171
the same village. Wolf Chief's narrative (to be quoted later) il- 778
lustrates the extent to which one tribe borrowed from the other 223
in purchasing an eagle-trapping bundle. His father, Small Ankles, purchased his rights from Big Cloud, who advised him to receive his instructions from Arrowhead Earrings, a Mandan, who was better informed. A study of individual bundle lines reveals that borrowing back and forth has been going on regularly since the smallpox epidemic of 1837, and from traditional information from informants this also applied to all their neighboring tribes as well. In native theory the particular ritual practiced at any time depended on these three factors: (1) the instructions received when the bundle was transferred; (2) elements of other eagle-trapping bundle rituals purchased; and (3) vision instructions.

A bundle-owner could sell his rights four times, and it was 796
only when the fourth sale was made that the original bundle was 778
transferred, new bundles being made up for the first three sales. 223
The amount of instruction received depended on the desires of

796 •778 223 the purchaser. He could receive instructions and rights in a limited number of fundamental rites to trap eagles without going into the entire lore belonging to the ceremony. He could then lead trapping expeditions to established trapping grounds, open the lodge, receive the birds brought in by the trappers, and send the spirits away. He could not, however, dig new pits, make offerings to the holy women, or perform the many other simple rites associated with these expeditions. He would not attract the best trappers on his expeditions, as informants stated that successful trappers preferred to go out with leaders who had special rites for all situations likely to arise.

796 778 424 Some bundle-owners took particular interest in the mythology and rites belonging to eagle-trapping to the extent that supplementary purchases were made. In time, these leaders became authorities on eagle-trapping and received popular recognition comparable to specialists in any other pursuit such as warfare or hunting. Whenever such an owner discovered that another had a sacred song or simple rite used in connection with eagle-trapping, a purchase could be made, regardless of the clan of the seller. In this manner new elements modified or supplemented the original bundle rites.

The rites were further modified by vision instructions. When Bear on the Flat received his bundle from his father, Belly Up, he was instructed not to permit anyone to touch the snake poles. Subsequently, Bear on the Flat received a vision from the snakes in which he was advised to permit his trappers to wipe their hands on the poles as the snakes' portion of the meal.

796 773 223 Every major ceremony, whether Mandan or Hidatsa, had a mythological origin, and, in this respect, eagle-trapping ceremonies occupied major bundle status. In theory, eagle-trapping was first employed by two classes of small bears, the small black bears that had their pits on the east side of the Missouri River and the small brown bears that trapped on the west bank. There were seven mythological eagle-trapping camps at which these small bears were accustomed to meet in autumn to catch the young black-tipped eagles (see Fig. 29).

The brown-bear camps were at: (1) Thunder Butte; (2) Knife River, near the present town of Golden Valley; and (3) Heart River Ravine, near the town of New Salem. The black-bear

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and the power is still there with it. They can still use me in catching the eagles, but I will not have to live where I am insulted." 539

The following narrative by Wolf Chief was a part of both his father's and his father-in-law's bundles and comes from the Mandan. The division of the bears into two groups representing two sides of the Missouri River is symbolic of the moiety division of the tribe into an east-side and a west-side seating arrangement for council meetings and the Okipa ceremony. The myth expresses the potency of the snare and gives the traditional origin of a number of songs and rites. 778● 773 539

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK AND BROWN BEARS) 773
RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[18] 539

In the beginning all the Black Bears were said to be living on the north side of the earth, while on the south side were the small Brown Bears. All the bears on the left side of the river, from the Yellowstone and beyond, even down to Knife River, belonged to the Black Bears. The Brown Bears on the right side of the river would know ahead of time the main trails of the eagles and get there ahead of the others from the left bank. There was a place called One Cottonwood Camp, where the Yellowstone runs into the Missouri River. When the birds traveled, they always came through that country. At that time the Black Bears were catching young eagles there and would eat them, for they were tender. They caught only that kind, for they liked to eat them.

Brown Bear called himself the real spirit. He had so much power that he did not have to use bait but could use his own hands to catch them. He selected his place called Thunder Butte where he went to catch the birds by hand. One of the Brown Bears had selected his place, at the Knife River south of the town of Golden Valley where the brush runs to the east, to catch only black [illegible] He called it Sand Lodge from the sand stones around there. There was another place at Heart River called Heart River Ravine.

On the north side the Black Bears had a trapping place called First Trapping Camp, the highest butte just below Sanish. (The Hidatsa Four Bears used to trap there.) Another place was at Buckbrush Trapping Camp, the flat west of the Mormon church just below Shell Creek. They put up a trap there, for they saw many eagles. The pits were in the hills at The Slides and to the north; another trapping place was below Fishhook to the east on the high banks, and they called it High Butte Trapping Camp. We do not know if it was Sandy Lodge, Thunder Butte, or One Cottonwood that he had his lodge close to.

Brown Bear had a lodge in one of these places. He lost his little boy from one of these lodges. When he disappeared, they looked all over. It was foggy, and they could not see a long distance or find his tracks. After a while they learned that the eagles had hidden the boy. They went far away looking, but it was foggy all the time until they came to the Heart River east of Dickinson. There they thought they had discovered his tracks along the edge of the

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[18] For portions of this myth, also related by Wolf Chief, see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 156 and 214–16.

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> Big Cloud's bundle was not complete; Iron Eyes had a main one.[22] Small Ankles would put up the lodge and put the snake pole in with the buffalo skull. He tied it into place with dark sage. I heard that once Old Woman's Grandson came in so they had the two poles brought in at that time to represent the snake.[23]

With respect to inheritance of trapping rights, rather marked differences exist between the Hidatsa and the Mandan. The former employed exclusively transfer from father to son or from individuals standing in the father-son relationship. Not a single instance of variation from the rule was observed except in the instance of Big Cloud's two sales to Wolf Eyes and Small Ankles. No doubt that exception can be traced to the circumstance that, though belonging to the Hidatsa Water-buster clan, Big Cloud lived in one of the Mandan villages with his Mandan father and Hidatsa mother. Hidatsa sales of trapping rights followed the normal pattern of bundle transfer from father to son, with a clan brother of the seller acting as sponsor to give instruction and prepare the bundle. Frequently a purchaser's brothers assisted in a joint purchase, taking possession upon death of the brother, but the next transfer would be to the son of original purchaser or his brother's son. 778 223 171 425

The small village of Awaxawi apparently had been strongly influenced by the Mandan, and clan inheritance was followed if the two bundles purchased just after the smallpox of 1837 were characteristic of all bundles formerly in the village prior to that epidemic.

Mandan inheritance of eagle-trapping bundles was affected by numerous factors. Except for the last generation in which it was from father to son, or other individuals standing in that relationship, inheritance was generally from one standing in the relationship of *pta'wadato'dE,* a special kinship term for the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother. In tracing back inheritance of Mandan eagle-trapping bundles, one is impressed by a sudden change within a single generation to the Hidatsa pattern of purchasing from the father. 778 425 171

Iron Eyes' bundle had belonged in the WaxikEna clan for several generations. He purchased from his mother's brother before the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook 423 223 778 425

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[22] He means the principal bundle.

[23] See the myth of Old Woman Who Never Dies, chap. vi, above.

423 223 778 425 Village, but he sold to his son after living one generation with the Hidatsa. He inherited the eagle-trapping sites of his mother's brother, but his son, Ben Benson, did not inherit his father's trapping lodges, since they were of different clans. Trapping territory and lodges continued to be clan-inherited and were not affected by this change to father-son inheritance of bundles.

778 425 Residence also was a factor in determining Mandan bundle transfers. When marriage was arranged on the initiative of the girl's parents, who selected the husband, the girl and her husband lived with her parents. As soon as it was evident that the marriage would become permanent, the girl's parents undertook what was known as "building up the son-in-law's reputation." First they would secure a white buffalo robe, which they presented to their son-in-law, who in turn would offer it to his own father's bundle.

If the young man came to regard the parents-in-law highly, he would, when successful in warfare, present his mother-in-law with a scalp, after which he could speak to her at will. Small Ankles lived in the same lodge with his wife and her parents, and he received his eagle-trapping rights from his father-in-law, Big Cloud, who also sold to his younger brother, Wolf Eyes. Wolf Chief, son of Small Ankles, was eligible to buy from his father. He also was invited to own his father-in-law's (Chief, a Mandan) eagle-trapping rights. This was an instance where a man (Hidatsa) was eligible to purchase his father's rights but through marriage to a Mandan and living in his parents-in-law's lodge could, according to Mandan custom, have inherited his father-in-law's bundle and rights.

Wolf Chief gave an account of a bundle transfer as told to him by his father, Small Ankles. The account illustrates quite definitely a considerable interchange of elements between the Mandan and Hidatsa, resulting in an enriched ceremonial life for both groups. The Hidatsa think of Small Ankles' rites as Hidatsa, but this account will show that the chief body of lore connected with the bundle was drawn from the Mandan.

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WOLF CHIEF'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE TRANSFER

778 425 159 I do not own the trapping rights, and by custom I should not tell; but, since I have changed my ways, I will. My father, Small Ankles, did not get the rights from his father but from Big Cloud, his father-in-law. Before Big

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Cloud[24] died, he told my father that it would be better for him to put up a sweat and thus receive the Small Bear, for he might get some use out of it. When people in the future would make offerings to the bears, he would receive presents.

Small Ankles told me that he got this Small Bear shortly after the smallpox. He said to me, "I treated my father-in-law well; he was like an older brother to me; that was the reason why he asked me to buy the medicines. I had to put up the sweat and some articles before I received it. At that time there were few trade goods, so I went out for buffaloes and saved about twenty-five hides. I had them tanned by the women. I prepared a sweat bath and called Big Cloud. He showed me two feet belonging to the little bear; one was without hide and was called Bone Foot. It was difficult to find a man who knew all the songs, but we remembered that there was a man named White Finger Nails. He had a son who knew the holy songs, so he was selected to come in and sing the songs. That man was a Mandan, Calf Woman's mother's father, named Arrowhead Earrings.[25] Big Cloud did not own a complete bundle but had only part of the rites and songs, so they selected this man since he knew them all. The man selected I called "father" because he and my father were in some way distantly related. Also I said that it would be best to have my father-in-law there too, for he knew some of the songs and knew how to put up the trap with the songs for the baits and pits. They met together to have the ceremony." Small Ankles was there. Big Cloud gave his medicines to Small Ankles and taught him how to trap, sing the songs, and set the baits. Then the other man gave him a small piece of bear hide and foot, telling him that when out trapping, if bad luck came, he could call him "father" and say what he wished to say, and Arrowhead Earrings would remember.

Big Cloud received the ten hides and said, "It will be all the better to let this other man have fifteen hides and a horse, for he is the one who did most to give you a complete ceremony."

When they covered the sweat lodge with the robes, there was a buffalo skull and the medicines that were to go to Small Ankles inside. Then they sang the holy songs. Big Cloud gave Small Ankles the bear foot, three snares, and eagle down, saying, "I give these to use when trapping; keep them in good order." Then they went in and sang a holy song and called some of the people to come in front of the sweat to be cleansed of the evil spirits.

There were not many people there, for most of the eagle-trapping bundles had died out during the smallpox; all who did own such bundles came there. Arrowhead Earrings said to Small Ankles, "When you go out eagle-trapping, remember this medicine is connected with trapping fish too, so you must not trap both in the same year. If you do, you will surely get into trouble, for this is holy. It is best to change off and go out after eagles one year and catch fish the next. If you use both the same year, trouble will come, for the fish have the stronger spirit."

There was a holy man with eagle medicine named Medicine Eagle [Mandan]. Small Ankles heard that he was holy and learned that, when any of the

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[24] Big Cloud had no sons and was living with his daughter, who had married Small Ankles.

[25] Arrowhead Earrings was a Mandan of the WaxikEna clan and custodian of the Okipa lodge, where he lived with his family when the lodge was not needed for the ceremonies. His eagle-trapping rights were secured from White Finger Nails.

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people wanted to make offerings to the eagles, Medicine Eagle would draw the picture of the things that they offered.

Small Ankles said, "I was trying to call him to come to my place and inquired what he did about making the signs for the eagle, thinking that it would help me in eagle-trapping. I called him in and told him I would like to own 'how he drew the picture,' and the man said he was willing to let me have it. He said it was not necessary to put up a big sweat and ceremony but to give enough articles, and he would show me how. He also owned a holy song for eagle-trapping which I could use. He gave them both to me to use.

" 'I will save enough hides to buy it from you,' and the man said that he would be ready any time. I looked up eight hides and my wife tanned them. A mare and colt were included. I put up a feast besides and told the medicine man that I was ready to own the medicine. The man came painted. His face was red; his hair was over his forehead; he wore the longest wing feathers. He came in, and I said, 'Here is the material I have put up to own your medicine song; here are two sticks which represent the mare and colt; this food also goes along with it.'

"When the man saw that, he said, 'I am satisfied with it, my son. You have put up all these things, and I am happy.' I had a pipe ready and handed it to him. He called for a little fire and I carried him a coal, but before he began to smoke he held up his pipe to the sky and prayed, then to the ground, and then to the birds of the four directions. When he finished smoking, he said that he would sing the holy song which belonged to the bait and show me how to draw the picture, for, when any man makes an offering to the eagles, then that man will have the right to draw a picture on his robe.[26] Medicine Eagle said, 'I will show you how to make the picture, for one who makes an offering to his own medicines, the eagles. I have a holy song for that.' I [Small Ankles] was taught the song, and the man said that he had already heard that I had bought the right to trap and now with my holy song it would be all the easier to trap an eagle. He taught how to sing the holy song, but one was not supposed to sing it aloud, just loud enough so that the people could hear it. The song had some words.

Female eagles come back first.

"Then he taught me how to draw the picture and said, 'Some day the people may make an offering to the eagles, and then you can draw the picture. Have some mud on a stick. When you draw the picture, make first a crooked line for lightning and then one straight line alternating until you have made six or eight figures representing lightning. Pull out one of the wing feathers and put it on one corner of whatever they offer when you finish drawing the pictures. When you have finished, cut an ash stick and put the robe around it with sage fastened on the top of it. Have a belt around the middle. Put it beside the door of his lodge so that it will stand there. When you go out eagle-trapping, remember the holy song and think whether you are getting enough birds. If you think you are not getting enough, use that song, singing it on the way to the pit or while smoking the bait. When you go into the pit, sing it. When you are at the pit, lift the bait in the air to the west and sing. If an eagle shows up while you are singing, it means that you will be successful. Do not sing this song often, only when you need it very badly.' "

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[26] The practice of painting robes to depict bundle rights was universal with the Mandan but uncommon with the Hidatsa.

> Small Ankles did not go out often, for there were many enemies. He did not 223
> like to go because of that. I went out along the Little Missouri River to Shoot- 778
> in-Nose Creek, and Small Ankles said I was four years old then. Then, Old
> Woman Crawling, Flying Above, and Big Cloud were along. There were old 425
> pits, but no one knew whose, so they fixed them in the same places. That is 159
> all right if one did not know whose they were. Many eagles were flying. One man stayed at home to protect the women. Big Cloud told of birds destroying the bait when the enemy appeared on the hill. The men freed the birds and ran away from the place. They traveled all night coming back.

The actual transfer of the bundle was a public event in both 778
tribes. When a Hidatsa transfer was to be made, a clan brother 425
of the seller occupied an important place, giving the instructions beforehand and directing the ceremonial transfer. He was recipient of most of the goods offered in payment. Attending the transfer ceremony and feast were all persons, male or female, owning a bundle containing a buffalo skull. These participants were considered the major bundle-owners of the tribe.

Mandan public transfer of this bundle was direct from seller to purchaser, and the only persons entitled to attend were legitimate owners of Eagle-trapping, Big Bird (this includes eagles, hawks, owls, thunder), Snake, and Bear bundles. Instruction in the techniques and rites of eagle-trapping was received directly from the seller without the assistance of a clan father. Each legitimate participant at the transfer received payment for his attendance and prayed for the success of the purchaser. Instruction was received from the seller privately, and appropriate payments were made from time to time during the period of apprenticeship. For instance, the buyer would be told that he should have so much goods ready at a stated time, and he would be taught how to erect the lodge; at another time how to dig the pits; etc. Each song would require its appropriate payment. When the feast was given, all knew that the buyer had received at least the minimum information necessary for leading eagle-trapping expeditions. Both tribes employed public transfers as an instrument for informing the population at large of the buyer's legitimate right to perform the ceremony. Transfer was always made in the village and never while on the trapping grounds.

There were two methods of organizing an eagle-trapping party 223
depending on the inclination of the leader or bundle-owner. Some leaders selected their trappers, while others announced

223 their intentions of trapping at certain localities and called for volunteers. The bundle-owner was leader, and his authority began as soon as the party left the village. Announcement that they would be trapping at a specified site was made in the village as soon as a party was organized, in order that hunting parties or other eagle-trapping parties would know their whereabouts.

Trapping parties left for the trapping sites when the leaves began to change color in the fall. In the party would be the leader and his trappers, together with their wives and children. It [224] being customary to hunt game for the winter's needs when the winds were not from a westerly direction, the women were taken along to cure the meat and prepare the hides.

223 346 Two types of lodges were used in connection with eagle-trapping. According to tradition, when Black Wolf visited the bears, he found them using a grass lodge consisting of a sweat-lodge frame covered with grass mats. When this lodge was used, the rigid rules associated with eagle-trapping were dispensed with. The bears had said, "When you use the grass lodge, there will be no rules." Any suitable location for the lodge could be agreed upon where it would be centrally located in relation to the pits. Neither were there rules governing the excavation of pits nor the appropriation of old ones. Each trapped where he chose, killed the birds, and secured the feathers. This type lodge was rarely used except when trapping in new territory under circumstances such that it was considered unlikely that the party would ever return there again to trap.

223 346 778 The second type lodge was known as the wood lodge. There were two variants of this type. When it was planned to return to the locality again, it was constructed on a four-post standard, each post having a fork at the top on which poles were suspended forming a square. The sides of the lodge were built by leaning poles against this standard to form a roughly conical structure. Bark and earth were banked around the outer edge of the lodge to a height of three feet for warmth and protection from attack. This was the preferred type lodge. With it went ownership of the adjacent pits and hunting territory. It was the residence of the males and was owned by the leader who had directed its construction. When used in connection with eagle-trap-

ping, the full ritual belonging to the bundle was used. These 223
were permanent sites and were used from year to year. (The 346
camps indicated in Fig. 28 used this lodge.) Transfer of ownership 778
was through the clan, although a leader of a different clan could
pay for the right to use a lodge and pits for a season when neither
the owner nor a member of the owner's clan intended to use it.

A variant of the pole lodge was generally used when a new 223
territory was being explored for the first time. In exterior form it 346
resembled the four-post lodge but lacked the standard on which
the poles were leaned. The structure was begun by lashing four
poles together in the manner of the four-pole tepee of the
Plains, after which poles were leaned together at the top forming
a circular base and conical exterior. The base had the same
exterior covering of bark and earth for protection from the
weather as well as defense from enemies.

Many of these pole lodges are still to be found, even though eagle-trapping was generally discontinued fifty years ago. In the autumn of 1932 the writer accompanied Bear on the Flat, Crows Heart, and Mark Mato on an eagle-trapping expedition and use was made of a lodge and pits owned by Iron Eyes (born into the WaxikEna clan but raised in the Prairie Chicken clan), a member of Bear on the Flat's clan.

When a trapping party returned to an old site, the first duty 223
was to repair the trapping lodge. Broken poles were taken out of 346
the wall and replaced by new ones, after which the sides were 778
banked with bark and earth. When six or eight men were in the
party, the lodge was the size of the regular hide tepee. When
parties of fourteen to twenty men went out, the lodge was enlarged
to twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter. Hide tepees were
never used for the men when on eagle-trapping expeditions. The
lodge was always concealed in a thicket of timber near running
water. The head of the lodge was in a westerly direction, usually
more north than west so that the entrance was in a general direction
of the Missouri River's course. The head of the lodge and
adjacent area on that side of the lodge were considered holy.
One could not cut wood, perform tasks not related to the ceremonies,
or loiter there. The sweat lodge was south of the trapping
lodge. The women erected their hide tepees or pole lodges
without the four-post standard, and their drying scaffolds were

223 346 778 in line with the entrance of the ceremonial lodge to the east. Before the introduction of horses, women lived in pole lodges, but these lodges were replaced with hide tepees as soon as possession of horses became general.

223 796 When returning to a site that had been used the former year, the two poles representing the snakes were brought from their place on the west side of the lodge and placed at the door; otherwise new ones were cut and brought to the lodge. Before the leader carried in the sacred bundle, he would sing the Song to the Lodge, with the trappers seated around him. After this he addressed the bundle, announced that trapping was about to commence, and asked for good luck from the Bears, the Buffalo, and the Snare. He then entered the lodge, invited the Buffalo and the trappers to come in, and placed the Buffalo skull and bundle at the head of the lodge.

When all were inside, the leader sang the Song of the Snakes and called for the two snake poles, which were brought in and placed one on the left side and the other on the right side of the lodge with the large ends representing the heads pointed toward the head of the lodge and the altar. The leader then produced a short sharp stick, usually decorated with porcupine quills, and marked off the limits of the fireplace, after which a rectangular pit was excavated. The rectangular shape of the fireplace was symbolic of the eagle-trapping pit, while the fire was addressed as "Grandfather," meaning that "it goes back in time to the beginning of things." The two ash poles were then placed on opposite sides of the fireplace. The pole on the left side represented the male snake and the one on the right side represented the female.[27] According to Mandan-Hidatsa tradition, Two Men[28] once came along and stopped with a party trapping eagles and informed the leader that the eagles ate snakes while the snakes preferred to eat eagle down. In that way snake poles were used in the ceremonial lodge for the men to place their heads on while sleeping.

The leader placed a juneberry branch tied up with white sage, representing the moon and also identified with the black-tipped

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[27] The arrangement of these two poles was symbolic of the lodge in Red Butte, visited by Grandson, where the snakes slept with their heads on poles at opposite sides of the fire.

[28] Lodge Boy and Spring Boy of Hidatsa mythology.

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Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go across the divide;[45] there you will find blacktail deer meat;
Go across the divide; there you will find blacktail deer meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to Grape River;[46] there you will find elk meat;
Go to Grape River; there you will find elk meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to the Big Bend;[47] there you will find buffalo meat;
Go to the Big Bend; there you will find buffalo meat.
Now you are home.[48]

When this song was ended, the spirits of the eagles left to join their people in the meeting place of the spirits near a large body of water. Only the leaders could send the spirits away. Men without eagle-trapping rights were afraid to catch eagles for fear that the spirits, being unsent, might bring bad luck to the trappers. All who caught eagles gave the leader pay in feathers, calicoes, robes, or knives for singing these songs and sending the birds' spirits away.

Then the leader sang the cleansing song, rubbing all the feathers with the sage. He rubbed each person in the party to cleanse him and bring him back to a human being again. While trapping, the men were impersonating the small bears. My father gave each trapper a new name connected with the bears for the duration of trapping. Mandan generally had this change of names. If a trapper stumbled when out trapping, he would report it and get another name, otherwise he would have bad luck. Each man paid the leader for his name, but it was relinquished when the cleansing ceremony ended.

The leader and as many as wished went into the sweat lodge, where the trappers hung the feathers on the sides in imitation of the bear's lodge far to the north. The sweat-lodge rites completed the ceremonies, after which the families united again either to return home at once or to hunt along the way according to their inclinations. 223 796

Benson claimed to be the fourteenth owner of the bundle which he used. In order of succession from Black Wolf, the owners were reported as follows: (1) Black Wolf; (2) Bull Leg; 223 778

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[45] The Mandan called that section of the country between the Cannonball and Grand rivers "The Divide." The blacktail deer meat was believed to be on a high hill at the mouth of the Grand River and on the north bank.

[46] The Little Bend of the Missouri River is at the mouth of the Cheyenne River, called by the Mandan Grape River.

[47] The Big Bend of the Missouri is below Pierre, South Dakota.

[48] The Mandan believed that the Missouri River entered the ocean not far below the Big Bend. This was believed to be the winter home of migratory waterfowl, corn, and the large birds of the eagle family (see chap. ix).

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(3) Round Clouds; (4) White around the Arms; (5) Fills His Lodge; (6) White Finger Nails; (7) Blind; (8) Berdache; (9–10) not able to recall their names; (11) White Finger Nails, WaxikEna clan; (12) Arrowhead Earrings, WaxikEna clan; (13) Iron Eyes, WaxikEna clan; and (14) Ben Benson, Tamisik clan.

Two accounts of eagle-trapping by Bears Arm were recorded in their entirety, without interruption by the writer, in order to determine what the informant considered the essentials of trapping. These are to be found in the Appendix. It was evident after this study had continued some time that special emphasis was given to certain aspects of a ceremony while other sections of the ritual received little attention. In the two eagle-trapping accounts it will be noted that Bears Arm emphasized these points: (1) the leader and persons attending; (2) the preparation of the ceremonial lodge, pits, and baits; (3) the seating arrangement and officers; (4) the differences in ritual between bundle-owners; (5) the number of birds caught and the names of the successful trappers; (6) the torturing of the trappers; and (7) the final cleansing rites.

Chapter VIII

CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping 226
bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin 796
from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap 773
in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could
catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo corral 789
was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions, as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical powers into the corral.[1] War leaders took their sacred snares along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnaring and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made 223
simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at 226
a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the cere-
monies. A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell 424
each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctoring and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, 226
catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in 262
ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that considerable 172
use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in 226
the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard 796
with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to 778
the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used.

Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish- 424
trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

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[1] Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

226 2. Hits on Back. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Holy Woman Robe
796 bundle, and a Bird bundle of Sikaraxa.
424 3. Iron Eyes. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Wolf ceremony bundle, and custodian of an Okipa turtle drum.
•778 4. Old (Black) Bear. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.
5. Little Shield. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a Big Bird (Thunderbird) bundle.
6. Big Walker. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

It will be noted that each of these men also had eagle-trapping rights. In addition to these six bundle-owners, there were a number of men possessing fish-trap rights without securing a bundle. Such rights were acquired by payment of goods to a bundle-owner, who authorized the construction of a trap with instruction that the purchaser address his prayers to the seller's bundle. The following account by Crows Heart illustrates purchase by this method. His maternal grandfather had owned fish-trapping rites which had not been passed on. To receive instruction, his mother's sister directed him to the nearest relative of the opposite moiety.

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF FISH-TRAPPING

226 When I was a young man, I often fished with a line and metal hooks bought
424 at the trading post. I never had very good luck catching fish that way. I only
caught small catfish, bullheads, and white shiners which were full of bones.
425 I often went down to the river in the fall when the water was low and helped the old men bail the fish out. They were catching the fish at night. Their fish were large ones, mostly catfish. Many of the very old people, especially the old women whose husbands were dead, came to the traps, and the men would give them fish. This made the old women very happy, and they would sing songs of praise to the old men. When I saw how happy it made them, I decided to trap fish when I grew up and make the old people happy.

One day I asked my "mother" how I could get the right to make a fish trap, and she said, "Go to Old Black Bear;[2] he is the man you must see."

When she said that, I asked, "Must I pay him?"

She replied, "You will have to pay him a horse and some blankets."

When I was nearly thirty years old, I invited Old Black Bear to my earth lodge. My wife prepared a feast of meat, bread, and coffee. I spread out a new robe on the floor, and he sat down on it. I had an overcoat I had paid $30.00 for; I put that over his shoulders. I also gave him a good gun, a fair horse, a redstone pipe, a good butcher knife, and three or four pieces of calico. Then he said, "What's up? What's all this for?"

I replied, "I want you to do me a favor. I want you to give me the right to make a fish trap."

He said, "I will give you the right to make and set out a fish trap. There's not much time today. I will teach you how to make the trap. If you think it

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[2] Crows Heart's father's moiety.

Chapter IX

BIG BIRD CEREMONY

796 773 THE birds belonging to this ceremony were classed in four groups: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles. According to the myth, the thunderbird was considered a relative of these birds, while in other myths the thunderbird was referred to as any one of the four groups of birds listed above.

796 821 The various rites were frequently referred to as the Thunderbird ceremony. However, birds other than those included in these rites, as well as the Sun and Moon and the snakes, were believed to possess the supernatural power of producing thunder and lightning.

796 778 773 There were two principal bundles appertaining to the ceremony. The Black Medicine bundle owned by Red Buffalo Cow (Prairie Chicken clan) was traditionally founded by Black Medicine, while the Sweet Medicine bundle was believed to have been founded by Grows in Lee Places, his twin brother. The latter bundle was last owned by Sand (Speckled Eagle clan). These two bundles came from Nuptadi Village. A second Black Medicine bundle owned by Little Shield (Prairie Chicken clan)
[614] came from Fort Clark Village. The linked character of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle clans was expressed by the inheritance through the clan of two closely related bundles from two "brothers" of different clans.

The two bundles had a common mythological origin based on the exploits of two brothers. The myth was supplied by Ben Benson, while much of the data on rites relating to the bundle were secured from White Calf.

773 BIG BIRD CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

539 This account goes back to the time when the villages were near the mouth of Heart River. Chief Bird was the head man of one of the villages. His sons

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[1] For another relation of this myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," XXXII [1938]), pp. 53–62.

Chapter X

THE SMALL HAWK CEREMONY

796 •778 ONLY the principal bundle belonging to this ceremony[1] remained in existence following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, although Scattercorn had heard that there had been a number of them formerly. The surviving bundle came from Mitutanka. The rites occupied a high place in the tribe's ceremonial life, and the small hawk, belonging to the bundle, was impersonated by one of the performers in the Okipa ceremony. The other bundle lines, of which there were said to have been several, were broken by the death of all eligible inheritors.

The single surviving bundle was owned by Berdache and her sister of the Tamisik clan and their husband of the WaxikEna clan. The latter two died after their daughters Calf Woman and Stands Yellow had married Hits on Back who had come to his wives' lodge to live. Hits on Back of the WaxikEna clan and his two wives bought the bundle from Berdache.[2] The bundle consisted of a sacred buffalo robe which traditionally came from Toad Earrings, mother of Buffalo Woman, a hide rattle representing Buffalo Woman, a gourd rattle representing Corn Silk, sage and magpie tail feathers representing membership in the Holy Woman Society, a stuffed hawk with blue shoulders and yellow spotted breast representing Split Wing Feathers and Looks Down To Hunt, a small ash digging stick, a wooden pipe, and a buffalo skull.

778 421 425 The bundle could be divided into two sections. One section consisted of the hawk, sage, hide rattle, pipe, and a buffalo skull and was transferable to a man of the WaxikEna clan, while the other section, the sacred robe, gourd rattle, sage, magpie and tail feathers, could be bought by the wife. Subdivided bundles seem to have soon lost their hereditary character. Each section

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[1] The bundle is known as the Sikaraxa bundle, referring to the small hawk or kite mentioned in the sacred myth.

[2] This purchase illustrates the character of bundle purchase through the female line.

could be sold four times. The usual transfer was to sisters married to one man, in which instances the women acquired rights in the sacred robe and other paraphernalia of that section, and the husband took over the balance of the bundle. Such purchases were made only after several years of married life, as it was considered a sign of bad luck for common bundle-owners to quarrel. Crows Heart explained that having a common interest in a bundle was a powerful factor in making marriages permanent. Sale was not made until the parent-in-law taboo had been removed. 778 421 425 [777]

The prominence of these bundles is demonstrated by their representation in the Okipa ceremony. During the early summer all men owning primary and secondary rights in a Small Hawk ceremony met in one of their earth lodges to select two young men to represent their bundles in that summer's Okipa ceremony. Either young men of this group or men who were eligible to inherit a bundle were selected to dance in the ceremony and to receive goods offered to Small Hawk bundle-owners.

Women owning rights in the bundle were entitled to dress in the sacred robe, place sage and magpie tail feathers in the hair, and carry the ash digging stick at the close of the Okipa ceremony, when separate offerings were made to them by the Okipa Maker and his fellow-fasters and on other occasions when a feast was made to the bundle as a Buffalo-calling ceremony. [292]

The rites are based on the exploits of Corn Silk, who visited the small hawk at his lodge on the eastern horizon where he lived with his mother. This small hawk, being a good hunter, taught the Buffalo-calling rites. Because he could produce thunder, he also introduced a rain-calling rite. His son, Looks Down To Hunt, inherited all his father's powers. 796 773

The holy robe and its rites have as their mythological origin Looks Down To Hunt's experiences on the northern horizon where he encountered his wife's mother who lived in a large earth lodge. After avoiding many hazards which she had set up to protect her people, the buffaloes, she was obliged to free these animals. The Mandan had many sacred robes, but each had its separate origin myth. 778 773

The myth throws light on the native theories of the universe. In one place Looks Down To Hunt asked the spider for his body 773 772

773 in order that he could retreat to the lowest level in the universe. 772 It was believed that the earth comprised four horizontal levels and that the surface of the earth was the top level. The sky was likewise made up of four semicircular hemispheres shaped like an earth-lodge roof and supported by four posts. This belief was associated with rites performed by a female robe-owner whenever a new lodge was erected or an old one repaired.

796 There was no spring or autumn bird feast, as in the case of the Big Bird bundles. When the bundle-owners were paid to per- 778 form the Buffalo-calling ceremony, the man officiated as the singer, carried the rattles, and wore the hawk on his head; his wife was dressed in the robe, wore the sage and magpie tail feathers, used the ash stick to dig a small hole near the head of the lodge, and "called up the buffaloes," as had been done by Frog Earrings in the mythology. A young man, about to go to war, asked the help of a bundle-owner belonging to his father's clan and promised to make an offering to the bundle upon his return. For this, he received a feather to wear on his head when in battle.

778 The sacred robe was held in high regard as a means of warding off misfortune. Because of the wicked disposition and power 773 of Frog Earrings, whom the robe represented, it was believed that men took to wearing women's clothing and followed female [828] avocations. She was also believed to be the cause of insanity, [826] feeble-mindedness, malformations, twisted jaws, and premature [845] births.

SMALL HAWK MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[3]

773 It was the fall of the year. Corn Silk and her nine brothers were living to- 539 gether. Whenever any young man would ask her to marry him, she would refuse. One of the brothers always spoke for the young man, but there was one of them who never paid any attention to her or urged her to marry. A young man, an unusually fine hunter, asked her to marry, and the brother who had been silent was disappointed, for he thought she would surely marry this one. He said to her, "I have never spoken before, so I think you should heed my words. At other times, our other brothers acted as spokesmen. This man is such a good provider you should marry him. You will have a comfortable home and everything you need. I think you should listen to me."

Corn Silk did not obey the request, and the mother was angry and said, "One of your brothers never spoke, but this man was a good provider, and he

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[3] Another version of this myth is reported in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 63–76.

Chapter XI

THE SNOW OWL CEREMONY

796 778 THERE were four separate rituals belonging to this bundle. They were: (1) medicine feast to the owls; (2) arrowmaking rites; (3) buffalo-calling rites; and (4) Holy Woman rites.

Each of these rites relates to a specific section of the sacred myth wherein Black Wolf was taken prisoner by the snow owl. The experiences of Black Wolf in his excursion into the sacred world formed the basis for the performance of the various rites. Although it was not possible to secure a detailed account of a bundle transfer, a number of informants had participated sufficiently in the various rites to secure an adequate picture of the mythological background and pattern of the ceremony in relation to the larger tribal ceremonial pattern.

The medicine feast to the two owls in the bundle followed the regular tribal pattern. Young men going to war would pledge a feast to the owls for success and would receive an article from the bundle to wear into battle. Several times during the bundle-owner's active years, he and those owning rights in the bundle would prepare a "renewal"[1] feast to the bundle. There was the usual period of preparation. To the feast would be invited all leading bundle-owners, who would pray for the success of the giver and receive goods for their part in the ceremony. At the close of the ceremony the bundle-owner and his family would be virtually destitute. Those dreaming of the snow owl and being otherwise eligible by the inheritance rules could buy rights in the owls and have new bundles made up. Sales could be made four times. These subdivisions of main bundles seem to have lost their hereditary character in a few generations.

796 778 411 The arrowmaking rites were associated with the two owls of the bundle, and the arrowmaker's tools were given to Black

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[1] Renewal feasts were not unique to this bundle alone. All major tribal bundle-owners were expected to give renewal feasts from time to time to enhance the status of the bundles.

Wolf as payment for his services to these birds in the sacred 796
myth. According to tradition, only those who had purchased the 778 ●
right made arrows. Arrowmaking techniques were taught by
certain bundle-owners. It is highly improbable that any living 411
informant at the time this study was made was able to enumerate all bundles with arrowmaking rights. At least the following, which is no doubt only a partial list, had arrowmaking rights: Eagle-trapping; Big Bird; Snow Owl; and Woman Above bundles. All of these bundles were associated with birds of prey.

The belief was that certain men were arrowmakers in early 796
times and that those in need of arrows bought their supply.
People without the rights were not allowed to stand around 424
when arrows were being made. Incidentally, pottery-making 463
was also a secret art, and the women bought the rights and knowledge in the techniques of their mothers or clanswomen, using only such designs as they were instructed to make. There was a song to the arrows and another when approaching the thicket where the shafts were secured. The stone tips were believed to have been first secured from the beavers.

The buffalo-calling rites were performed during the winter 796
and were initiated by a young man dreaming of the buffaloes. 224
Woman Living in Dog Den Butte (Buffalo Woman) had said in the myth, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine."

The three officers in the ceremony were (1) the bundle-owner 796
and his wives, who sat to the left side near the head of the lodge and were the singers; (2) a woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, who wore a buffalo robe with hair side out and had sage and magpie tail feathers in her hair, her place being at the head of the lodge; and (3) a man impersonating the brothers who lived in Dog Den Butte; he had red marks painted on his skin indicating the kinds of wounds a man could receive in battle, and his place was on the right side of the lodge near the door.

The Okipa lodge was used for the ceremony. After a young man had made the vow, robes and other goods were accumulated for the ceremony. A man received help from his wife, brothers, sisters, clan brothers and sisters, and the people of both his

Den Butte would be with the enemy. The performers were then 796
cleansed with sage by the leader and left the lodge. The giver and his wife remained to assist in the division of the goods. Then a man with rights in one of the Holy Woman bundles entered to announce that there were a great many holy women who were always working for the benefit of the Mandan.[3] These women came in dancing and received a part of the goods.

The officers of the ceremony, the giver, and his wife went to the bundle-owner's lodge where a sweat lodge was ready. After the cleansing ceremony, all received food prepared by the bundle-owner's wives.

Persons giving the ceremony within the memory of living informants were Standing Bear, Belly Up, Foolish Bear, and Bear on the Flat.

Women could buy the right to wear the buffalo robe, repre- 796
senting Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, and to dance in the 778
Buffalo-calling ceremony. She was also entitled to wear the magpie tail feathers and sage on her head, as well as to carry an ash digging stick when other women representing various Holy Women met to dance.

A complete bundle contained the following articles: (1) ar- 778
row-straightener of buffalo rib with perforations; (2) wooden groover; (3) rawhide with sand glued to it as polisher; (4) grapevine; (5) tanned fawnskin; (6) two feet of white owl; (7) two feet of the small owl; (8) yellow and black clay for painting; (9) one large white-owl wing feather; (10) gray sage; (11) bow and lance; (12) buffalo robe; (13) magpie tail feathers; and (14) plain black elbow pipe.

Hits on Back was the only owner of a complete bundle which 778
had come from Nuptadi Village. Inheritance was in the Waxi- 425
kEna clan, since the ceremony was related to the Okipa. Related 614
items in the bundle could be sold four times, but the last sale was of the entire original bundle.

When sales were made of portions of the bundle, transfer was from father to son or individuals in that relationship.[4] Partial

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[3] Actually, after the smallpox epidemic, there were few women holding rights in the Holy Women bundles.

[4] The practice of transmitting principal bundles within the clan and secondary or partial bundles from father to son is not unique to this ceremony along. See Old Woman Who Never Dies myth (chap. vi) and the Okipa ceremony (chap. iv) for additional data.

•778 sales were as follows: (1) arrowmaking rights (Items 1, 2, 3, 4,
425 10); (2) owl rights (Items 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10); and (3) Holy Woman
rights (Items 10, 11, 12, 13). The buffalo-calling rights were re-
614 served for the main bundle-owner. There is no evidence of a
bundle coming from Mitutanka Village.

SNOW OWL CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[5]

773 A long time ago the Mandan were divided up into groups trapping eagles
539 along the creeks west of the Missouri River. They were living in the usual eagle-trapping lodges made on the four-post standard. Black Wolf was one of the party. Being a good hunter, Old Black Bear was glad to have him along. He would go out into the pit whenever the winds were from the west and he was catching many birds. One warm afternoon, when in his pit, he became sleepy and was dozing off when he heard a rumbling sound. He awoke instantly. This same sound occurred on three consecutive days, but each time he woke up. On the fourth day, he was asleep when it occurred.

When he finally woke up, his pit was so dark that he thought night had come. When he touched the roof of his pit, he found that a large rock covered it, holding him prisoner beneath. When he could not get out, he cried. He lost all track of time. At last he saw daylight and was glad to get out of the pit. He found himself in a strange country. He saw a high hill and went there to get his directions again. From there he saw timber farther on, and at the edge of it there was a very small man motioning with his robe for him to come over. He went to the stranger and found him to be a small man, almost a dwarf, with a fair complexion, yellow hair, and a slightly hooked nose. This little man spoke in Mandan, and Black Wolf was glad to hear a voice again. He was invited to a lodge which was a four-post eagle-trapping lodge. There he saw a middle-aged man sitting at the head of the lodge making arrows. The arrowmaker did not speak, but the little man asked him to sit down.

After a while the arrowmaker said to the little man, "My helper, you have brought in a stranger. Prepare food for him."

The little man brought in dried meat and fat which he cooked over the coals. When it was crisp, he placed it on a wooden platter and set it before Black Wolf. Being very hungry, he ate it all up. Then the little man brought him water in a buffalo horn.

When Black Wolf had eaten, the arrowmaker said to the little man again, "It is time for us to eat now." The meat Little Man brought in was from around the sinews of the back. This he pounded up with a stone hammer and made into pemmican. Then he brought out an earthen kettle full of water and set it onto the fire. When the water was hot, he brought out a white substance and put it into the kettle. Then he said, "The meal is ready."

The arrowmaker said, "Bring my paint," and the Little Man ran to obey him. The paint was yellow, and the arrowmaker daubed spots of it all over his body. He tied a scalp on his left wrist, then stood up and danced around the fire to the rhythm of his own breathing. Each time he came to the kettle, he

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[5] Another version of this myth is recorded in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 149–54.

Chapter XII

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY

796 778 THE ceremony is called HapminakE, meaning "Day Boat" or "Day Traveler." At least five distinct Mandan bundle lines were in existence in 1837, represented by Arrowhead Earrings (custodian of the Okipa lodge), who sold to his daughter, Spring Woman, and her husband, who sold to Calf Woman, principal contributor of data on this ceremony; Bull Otter, who sold to his son, Clam Necklace, who sold to his son Ole Bull (still living); Short Bull, whose bundle was bought by his daughter, Diamond Snake, who sold to her son, Percy Baker (still living); Red Buffalo Cow, who sold to his daughter, Antelope Woman; Four Bears, who died during the smallpox epidemic of 1837 without making a sale, although one son dreamed of the Old Woman Above and dressed as a woman thereafter. This is a greater number of bundle lines than it was possible to identify for the Hidatsa villages. The Arrowhead Earrings bundle was inherited in the clan and was considered the principal or original bundle. The other bundles were sold from father to son.

796 782 776 The ceremony was performed to the Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above, their mother. Some bundle lines included rites to Old Woman Above's daughter,[1] an evil spirit who was blamed for much of the tribe's misfortunes. The ceremony differs in function from most ceremonies in that it was performed to ward off misfortunes sent by these evil mythological gods. Other sacred beings are either neutral or helpful, but not so with the Sun or his sister. They were cannibals and brought miscarriages, insanity, twisted faces, droughts, death, and misfortunes to the people. Ceremonies were rites of appeasement. The Sun was a cannibal who brought death to members of war parties and carried their bodies to his mother's lodge above, where she prepared them for his meals. He would not, however, knowingly

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[1] Called Omahank-Chika by Maximilian (see *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII [Cleveland, 1906], 302).

eat those he had sent dreams to or those who had his bundles 796
and gave feasts or offerings of goods to him regularly. The presence 782
of so many bundle lines, both original and secondary, surviving 776
the smallpox of 1837, indicates the popularity of such
bundles.

This was a very difficult bundle ceremony to secure information 778
about. All tribal ceremonies were secret. The difficulty in
securing information on this ceremony was based on fear of 124
death. Calf Woman explained that, since she had joined the church and was not likely to sell rights in her other bundles four times, she was always willing to explain things in her other bundles. She had described everything Wilson and Lowie asked of her and never felt fear of the loss of good fortune.[2] She added:

> I showed you the masks yesterday that belonged in the Okipa ceremony. 778
> Of course, I smoked pine branches before I opened the bundle, but I always
> do that. I don't feel the same way about the Peope Above bundle. The Moon 776
> in the bundle doesn't worry me, but Sun is an evil spirit. He brought death to our warriors. My first husband was killed on the warpath even though his father and mother had a People Above bundle which together with my husband's sisters we would have had rights had he lived. So, you see, sometimes the Sun will even kill his own. It may be that the Sun had already blessed the enemy and adopted him as a son was why my husband was killed. This Old Woman Above is mean, but she is fair. Her daughter is evil; she causes men to leave their wives and little children; she causes insanity, fits, and feeblemindedness. People are always careful to follow the rules belonging to these bundles, or their neighbors blame them when someone breaks a leg or has a tree fall on him. I worried last night because I had promised to tell you the myth.

Wolf Chief expressed the same fears when asked to explain 124
the Hidatsa ceremony to Woman Above. That there was a rich 776
ritualism connected with these bundles is evident from isolated data appearing in other sacred myths. There are a number of qualified informants, but to date it has been impossible to secure complete information from them. Variations no doubt existed between villages and even in bundle lines within the same village, but this could not be determined, since such information was not obtainable from Calf Woman.

Bundle purchase followed the normal tribal pattern. The instruction 778
was directly between seller and buyer, which, when
completed, was followed by a medicine feast at the time the 425
transfer was made. Attendance was limited to persons with

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[2] Gilbert L. Wilson and Robert H. Lowie.

778 425 bundles containing articles representing sacred beings believed to be living in the world above, which would include People Above bundles, Star, and Holy Women bundles.

778 778 755 Bundle-owners doctored for insanity, feeble-mindedness, spasms and fits, premature births, and paralysis. Payment was made if the patient recovered, or, when the case was given up as hopeless, the relatives requested that the doctor continue his efforts. Pine needles were burned as incense, and the Black Medicine root was chewed and blown over the victim. The songs were sung while using a large gourd rattle.

778 Calf Woman believed that the bundles were primarily war bundles because the Sun was a cannibal who brought war parties together and had some killed so he could eat them. Men having the Sun as their god believed that it would be the enemy who would be killed.

778 425 One could sell rights in the bundle four times but usually reserved singer rights and the rattle for the oldest daughter and her husband. Women buying with the husband held Holy Woman rights to Old Woman Above and were entitled to wear magpie feathers and a braid of sweet grass and to carry an ash digging stick when attending a medicine feast.

772 Calf Woman added this general information about the beliefs associated with the ritual of the ceremony:

> The world is in three layers: above world; the land we live on; and the lower land. First Creator and Lone Man created the land we live on. These lands and the sky are held apart by four large posts, for the universe is a large earth lodge. The earth is floating on water which separates it from the lower land because water comes out of the ground. There are people living on these three lands.
>
> 821 Sun dies during an eclipse. When there is a total eclipse of Sun, those with People Above bundles, which always includes Sun, burn pine spills that come from the Rocky Mountains, while all the people cry. Even the dogs cry. If the people are on the march when Sun dies, they stop to cry until Sun comes back to life. Sometimes Sun is sick, and then only part of the sun is dark.
>
> Comets and constellations are people who once lived on the earth as holy people. The people were getting careless and broke the rules and did not treat these holy people right, so they went back to the sky and are making their home there now. When one sees a star going across the sky, it is because it is changing places, traveling as an arrow.
>
> 838 I saw three men who dressed like women; one was a Mandan, a brother to Four Bears;[3] the other two were Hidatsa. If a man dreams of the Holy Women and later finds a rope or porcupine quills in the forest, that is a sign that these

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[3] Four Bears also had a son who dressed in women's clothing.

women want the man to pick it up. If he picks it up, but few do, he dresses 838
like a woman.

There are three women, one in each of the three places where Sun stops to 776
smoke. They are his sisters. Their names are Sunrise Woman, Above Woman,
and Sunset Woman. They are all evil women. Because Sun is my god, I have 553
the right to give children such names as Lone Woman from Sun's mother, Buffalo Woman from the buffalo skull, Digs Turnips or Chokecherry Tree from the Bear.

Although the woman represented in the Shell bundle is one of the Holy 778
Women, rights in the People Above ceremony did not carry rights in the Shell 776
bundle.

These Holy Women cause twisted faces and insanity, and people with [553]
rights in the bundle can cure them. I have the right also to doctor those
thrown from horses or hit with an ash stick. This right comes from the People [828]
Above bundle.

The myth Calf Woman had been taught when buying the bundle was as follows: 773

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY CALF WOMAN 539

Three people go together in this story; they are Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above. A long time ago a young woman named Corn Silk wanted to marry Sun. She went to a very old woman, who was a Holy Woman, to get instructions as to where Sun lived and how she might reach him. This Holy Woman said, "Your grandmothers, the mice, are living on the prairies. You can stop at their earth lodges each night on the way."

She started on her journey and came to the home of the lodge mice about sundown. She walked up to the lodge and stood outside. One of the children who came outside saw her and ran inside to tell the mice about it. The old women told the little mouse to invite her in. She asked the woman who was doing the cooking to prepare Corn Silk some ground beans for her supper. The young woman had buffalo fat along; she gave some of it to the mice to use, for their hands were chapped from digging beans. She also had some blue stone beads along, and she gave some of them to the old women. She slept there and the next morning went on.

The lodge mice told her that there was another family of mice a little farther on. She reached them at sunset. They were the white-breasted mice. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads as before. She also gave them fat for their chapped hands. One of the old women asked her where she was going, and she replied that she was on her way to marry Sun. They told her she would find another family of mice a little farther on.

She traveled all day and reached the lodge of the mosquito mice at sunset. One came out and saw her, and she was invited in as before. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads and buffalo fat.

They inquired, "Where are you going, my beautiful grandchild?"

She answered, "I am on my way to marry Sun."

She slept until morning and ate her breakfast with the mice. She traveled all day and reached the home of the pocket gophers at sunset. They saw her, 773 539 a pile of stones on a high hill, and he went there to sit nearly every day. Since his father was a Thunderbird, he liked to sit on high places and sing his sacred songs.

● 778 Calf Woman's bundle contained these articles (see Fig. 40): (1) copper ring representing Old Woman Above; (2) copper ring representing Sun; (3) copper crescent representing Moon;[4] (4) one large gourd rattle; (5) six magpie tail feathers (the Holy Women were identified by these magpie feathers); (6) twelve owl tail feathers (the owl was associated with the moon and the night); (7) human scalp, said to be one that was taken from a Cheyenne Indian, killed by Moon when his son escaped; (8) left arm of a grizzly bear, used in the ceremony, since Corn Silk and her son did not have time to get a forearm of one of the Cheyenne; (9) grizzly bear's skull;[5] (10) tuft of long hair from a buffalo bull's lower jaw; (11) a strip of hide from a buffalo calf's head; (12) long hair from a buffalo's foreleg; (13) buffalo left horn; (14) a buffalo skull.[6] (The buffalo was represented in the

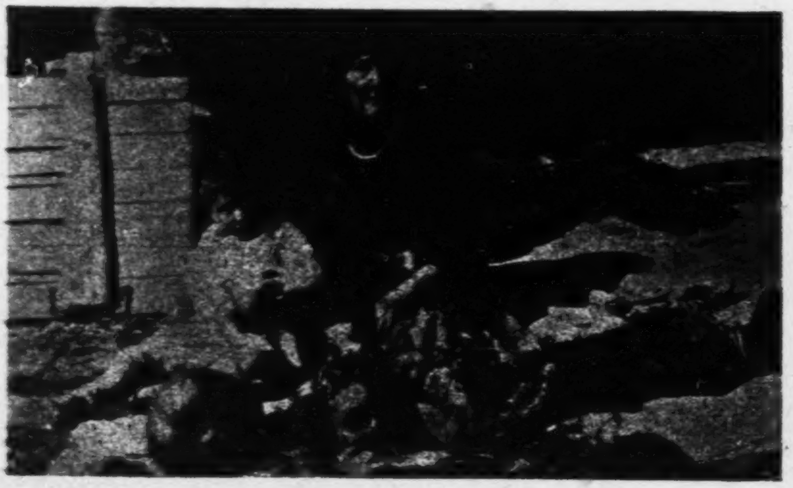

FIG. 40.—People Above bundle with owner, Calf Woman, and her grandson

bundle because Corn Silk also married a buffalo); and (15) one stuffed jackrabbit, which served as a scout for Sun. 778

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[4] The three copper objects were obtained from white traders.

776 [5] Scattercorn explained that the Holy Women were the only ones who could master a grizzly bear and compel it to work for them carrying wood from the forests. The significance of this skull was not clear to the informant. She thought that it had been added by a former owner and was not a true part of the bundle.

[6] The rites were of major bundle status.

Bundle-owners had shrines on the prairies near the village which they were expected to maintain. Whenever these shrines became weathered and the images of Sun, Moon, and Woman Above had fallen down, the bundle-owner, someone who had either dreamed of the bundle, or one planning to lead a war expedition, pledged a feast to the People Above bundle (see Fig. 41). Bundle-owners also put on renewal feasts to their bundles several times during middle age.

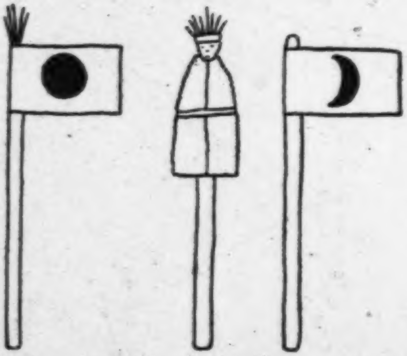

FIG. 41.—Images of People Above characters: Sun, Old Woman Above, and Moon

Calf Woman, who lived in the Okipa lodge with her parents and Arrowhead Earring (her mother's father), who was custodian of the lodge, observed a bundle renewal ceremony in which Clam Necklace and his wives gave a feast for his bundle. 786 431

CALF WOMAN'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE RENEWAL CEREMONY

Bears Ghost was asking my mother for the lodge [Okipa lodge]. He wanted *to give the Snake ceremony* [*secondary bundle belonging with the Old Woman* Who Never Dies bundles] for his parents, Foolish Chief and Dressed Up, from whom he was buying, when Clam Necklace came to ask for the lodge to give the People Above ceremony to his own bundle. He gave my mother several fine robes for the use of the lodge. He needed it for one day and night. She was glad that he was giving a feast to his own bundle, since he was a young man just building up his reputation. She had one of those bundles, and feasts like that gave her credit. He hung the robes on a line around the six central posts [see Fig. 42].

People receiving goods were: 796

Women

Big Chief Woman
Spring Woman
Lone Woman
Hides and Eats
Stays Yellow
Unborn Calf Woman
Penned Up
Goes Out
Owl Woman
Beaver Woman
Different Corn Silk
Feather on Head Woman
Otter Woman
Eagle Woman
Cedar Woman

Men

Wolf Ghost 431
Crows Breast
Big Foot Bull
Afraid To Be Chief
Red Buffalo Cow
Bull against Wind
Red Shield
Small Ankles
Awaxniax (?)
Belly Up
Broken Ax

After the gifts were all presented, the people went home. Clam Necklace 796
and his two wives went outside the village near the scaffolds for the dead and
put up three new images, one of the Sun, one of the Moon, and another of the 778
Old Woman Above.

The image of the Sun consisted of a round red disk painted on white calico or hide. Chokecherry brush was lashed to the top of the pole. The Old Woman Above image was made of a robe, hair side out, wrapped around an ash pole, with a piece of black hide for the face and white sage for the hair. It was tied to the pole with a belt which held the image in place. Moon's image was a red crescent painted on a white calico or hide lashed to an ash post [see above, Fig. 41]. The images were set up before sunrise.

Bundles having Old Woman Above's daughter represented 778
added a fourth image. Instead of placing the images in a row
with mounds in front of Sun's and Moon's images, the four 764
images were placed at four corners of a square with the mounds in the center. White sage was set into the ground at the apex of the mound representing the Sun and black sage on the other mound representing the Moon. When two buffalo skulls were placed at the shrine, one was a bull's and the other a cow's skull. When four skulls were used, they were bull's skulls and represented buffaloes of the four seasons. These shrines became fasting places to which were brought skulls of relatives taken from
the *scaffolds*. Enemies whose skulls lay on the prairies were [727]
brought to these shrines by those fasting there. Children's skulls were not placed in these circles.

The presence of enemy skulls in these circles was not unusual. 778
Men fasting on the hills often collected the skulls of their ene- 727
mies or went to the spot where the body lay to seek visions. 778

Maximilian referred to these shrines when he wrote:

778

> The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up round them, and four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a white stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake, painted red. The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings or put up petitions; they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life, which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establishment is represented where a couple of figures, very clumsily made of skins, were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life and the old woman who never dies.[7]

Catlin, who describes similar skull circles and mounds, writes:

> When the scaffolds on which the bodies rest, decay and fall to the ground, the nearest relatives having buried the rest of the bones, take the skulls, which are perfectly bleached and purified, and place them in circles. . . . There are several of these "Golgothas" or circles of twenty or thirty feet in diameter, and in the centre of each ring or circle is a little mound of three feet high, on which uniformly rests two buffalo skulls (a male and female); and in the centre of the little mound is erected a "medicine pole," about twenty feet high, supporting many curious articles of mystery and superstition, which they suppose have the power of guarding and protecting this sacred arrangement. Here then, to this strange place do these people again resort, to evince their further affections for the dead—not in groans and lamentations however, for several years have cured the anguish; but fond affections and endearments are here renewed, and conversations are here held and cherished with the dead.[8]

778 172 Catlin refers to the frequent visits to these shrines by the women, which was verified by Calf Woman. She added that the single mound and offering was to Sun's sister, one of the evil Holy Women. People sometimes placed skulls around her shrine also. This practice of assembling fasting shrines composed of images, mounds, and skulls was employed by the Hidatsa after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village and was reported by both Wolf Chief and Bears Arm. Whether this practice was employed at the Knife River villages has not as yet been determined by actual archeological investigations. The Heart River Mandan sites have an abundance of disarticulated human bones, other

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[7] Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

[8] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 151–53.

778

than skulls, which usually appear singly in refuse heaps, pits, or shallow graves. 172

Women took an active part in these ceremonies. Calf Woman 796
thought that it was because they did not want their gardens 562
burned by Sun, who she said once tried to marry Waving Corn.
(People never prayed to the sun to bring warm weather. When 782
the winter was severe, they prayed to Lone Man of the Okipa
to come as the south wind.) When he was refused, he came four
times, and each time the plants withered. Women would fast
at these shrines to save their crops and ask help for their men
away on the warpath.

Chapter XIII

THE SHELL ROBE BUNDLE

•778 THIS bundle was spoken of as the Shell Robe of the Holy Women to distinguish it from other Holy Women bundles. Traditionally, the robe originated in Yellow Dog's village of Awatixa and reached the Mandan by intermarriage a long time ago, while the Mandan were still living in the Heart River region. The bundle consisted of a tanned piece of elkhide approximately two feet square to which were attached pieces of human scalps and clam shells set in rows. The hair had been removed from the hide, and a piece of scalp and a clam shell were fastened together in some manner not clear to informants, before being attached to the robe. A star representing the morning star was painted on the center of the robe. The bundle also contained magpie tail feathers, a braid of sweet grass, an ash digging stick, a buffalo-bull skull, and a plain wooden pipe. These, except the buffalo skull, were kept in a buffalo-hide sack. The bundle was one of a number having its mythological origin from the Holy Women, being so identified by the presence of magpie tail feathers, braids of sweet grass, and the ash digging stick.

778 This was the most widely known of the Holy Women myths.
Those having other Holy Women bundle rights could sell the
773 story independently of the Shell Robe bundle. Bear on the Flat,
726 whose mother had rights in the Woman in Dog Den bundle,
claimed rights in this bundle by virtue of rights in a Holy Woman bundle. This was primarily a war bundle, and feasts given by men leading war parties were of frequent occurrence. The feasts entitled them to have an image erected before the giver's lodge and to have given them some article from the bundle by the Shell Robe owner. The article was carried on war expeditions and prayed to during the performance of the war rituals when away from the village. The number of feasts that could be given or the number of times articles associated with the bundle could be given out was unlimited. The blessings of the Holy Women

were sought, since these women went out at night, according to 778
the myths, to fight and to incite fights between the Mandan and 726
their own people or the enemy in order to have people to eat. 773
They were described as cannibals in all the myths.

The peculiar ceremonial pattern and traditional history of the 778
bundle, in a large measure, explained the general knowledge of
the myths belonging to the ritual. The bundle-owner and his 773
wives could sell the story. Owners of all bundles in which were 425
represented Holy Women, consisting of Buffalo Woman, Old Woman Above (Sun's mother), Woman in Dog Den Buttes, Old Woman Who Never Dies, and Striped Scalp (Sun's sister), were included in this group. Traditionally, the myth survived when the Hidatsa sold the bundle. Those who had bought the right to hear the story could in turn retell when payment was made. Those who had made offerings to the robe could learn the story and retell it upon payment of goods. The bundle was normally transferred from parents to sons and daughters if they were living and wanted it; otherwise to a daughter and her husband, inheritance being in the Prairie Chicken clan. Transfer was made at a public feast, but the preliminary instructions were direct between buyer and seller and in secret. The people of the Prairie Chicken clan of Awatixa and the Mandan villages claimed rights to the bundle.

When doing ethnological work with Mandan informants, it 776
was evident that there was no hesitation in giving information 124
on this ceremony, as was the case with the People Above ceremony. There was no reference to punishing people with insanity, paralysis, and other afflictions, as was the case with the People Above mythology, in spite of the fact that the female characters represented were believed to be members of the Holy Women band. These women, although cannibals and evil in character, were often represented in the mythology as kind, sending fog to conceal their movements while they brought meat into the Mandan villages and loaded down the corn scaffolds during times of famine. People were not permitted to speak in a loud voice in the lodge where the bundle was kept, and mice that ran over it were said to have died.

During the last century the bundle and its owners have oc- 778
cupied an important place in the traditional history of the Man-

•778 dan and Awatixa. The bundle was at Mitutanka before the smallpox epidemic of 1837 and was brought to Like-a-Fishhook Village by the lower group of Mandan when the village was built. Bobtail Bull and his wife were owners. He was killed July 13, 1850.[1]

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF THE SHELL ROBE BUNDLE

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173 The bundle went from Bobtail Bull to his daughter, Good Ways, and to her husband named Big Foot Bull; thence to Wolf Ghost, Good Ways' brother. When Wolf Ghost was dying, he sent word to Montclair to come for the Holy Woman Robe to take home and keep. Montclair sent word back that he did not want to keep it in his lodge and to leave it in its place. It was left there after Wolf Ghost's death.[2]

The robe had its beginning in Yellow Dog's village and got over into the Mandan tribe by sale. The Mandan took the robe and passed it from generation to generation by father and mother to son or daughter and husband. Bobtail Bull passed it to Montclair through his daughters to their son, Montclair. In Montclair's early days he did not belong to the church and kept the robe as a protector. Later he turned it over to Wolf Ghost, his mother's brother, and joined the Congregational church.

After Wolf Ghost died, people would continue to go there and make offerings to the robe until it disappeared.

I learned the story from Poor Wolf, who got it from the old men. Poor Wolf said, "Whenever I want to learn a story, I make a feast and pay a man of my father's clan[3] to go to the old man and ask to hear the story. The old man would take the things and tell just how it all happened. I would sometimes forget something and have to go over it again, so I would go back to the old man and have him repeat it. By the third time I would have it thoroughly learned."

I would feed Poor Wolf and give him presents and have him come over to tell me the stories. I would always go to the man with the rights. Poor Wolf did not learn the story from the Mandan but from an Awaxawi who had bought the story from older people in his tribe, so the story is a little different from the way the Mandan tell it.

Poor Wolf said: "I made a feast and gave gifts to buy the right to know the stories, and, when I thought I forgot, I had them repeated three or four times. Even Ree have ceremonies of the same kind. I was adopted by the Ree and wanted to know the rites, so I told the man I wanted to know the meaning. The Ree sent all out, and then told me all about the Ceremony of Adoption."

At Like-a-Fishhook Village the people were few after the smallpox. The village was well fortified with hewn timber, and a bell had been put up. At certain times each morning the Black Mouth Society would ring the bell and open the gate to let the people out to the cornfields or for wood. They would work all day, and, when the bell rang, the people would come through the gate, and it would be tied up for the night. If any were left out and they came to the gate and were recognized, the gate would be opened for them. If an enemy came, he could not get in.

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[1] *Journal of Rudolph Friedrich Kurz*, trans. Myrtis Jarrell; ed J. N. B. Hewitt (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 115 [Washington, 1937]), pp. 74–75.

[2] Calf Woman said that the bundle belonged to the Prairie Chicken clan and that men married into this family line merely helped in the ceremonies.

[3] This was the Hidatsa method.

Some Mandans named Bobtail Bull, Bad Gun, Standing Bear, Lean Bear, Sand, Dancing Flag, and a few others belonging to the Buffalo Society went to the southeast on a war expedition. They stopped at the small Mandan village, Nuptadi, where a few Mandan were still living. This was eighty-two or eighty-three years ago [from 1933]. A woman had a horse tied to a corn scaffold and was on top slicing squash. The war party went inside and sat down. An enemy Sioux came in, and they received him and gave him leggings, but, when he sat down, Bobtail Bull jumped up and killed the Sioux, who was named Bull Boy. Then the war party left. The Sioux came to the small Mandan village, but those people said that they had nothing to do with it; that it was done by the other Mandan living at Fishhook. The lower Mandan were the ones who had fought with the other Mandan and had not then united.[4]

The Sioux chased Bobtail Bull's party, and they ran into the woods near Mannhaven or Yellow Water. A Sioux called, "My friend; I am here," but the Mandan would not come out. In the night they made a raft and swam the woman's horse across and came back to Like-a-Fishhook Village. Since the village was fortified, they could not get in until morning when the bell was rung. They painted their faces black and ran through the village with their scalp.

Sometime afterward, Bobtail Bull had a dream from this Holy Woman Robe. The robe said to him, "I am bringing you a warning. You will not be permitted to go out anywhere during the summer. You must stay in the village and not go out hunting or on the warpath until the first snow comes. Then you will be out of danger."

Bobtail Bull called in his war party and some of the old men and told them this. He said, "My robe has told me to stay in the village during the summer season. There is danger ahead for me, and I am not allowed to go outside of the fortification."

The men said, "That is all right. It is good that your robe has warned you."

During the summer he stayed inside of the village and out of sight in his lodge. The people coming back from their travels reported many wild turnips and thought the people should go out to dig them. After Bull Boy was killed, whenever the Sioux made a fire, they would put a stone in the fire and name it Bobtail Bull so that it would mean he was to die if the stone snapped. All this time the Holy Woman tried to keep it from cracking, but she said to Bobtail Bull in a dream, "Do not go out today. I have worked for you, but the Sioux will have luck if you leave the village, for now I am getting tired and feel weak."

He told his wives this, but one was part Sioux, and she must have been helping her people. He dressed up, and his friends asked him why he was dressed up to dig turnips. He related what his medicine had told him. Since his wife wanted him to go so badly, he was going to try it. His wife had insisted that they would be near the village. They went three miles east of the village. The women said, "You ride around and find them, and we will dig them."

While he was looking for the wild turnips, they came near the Badlands

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[4] This division referred to by Bears Arm occurred in 1820. He explained that the group moved to Birds Bill Butte south of Mandan and did not return until 1823, when they settled near Mitutanka Village.

where the Sioux were hiding. The Sioux rushed out, and a shot broke Bobtail
178 Bull's leg above the ankle, and he said, "I am Bobtail Bull." He shot several
173 with his arrows but in turn was hit in the chest with a bullet and died. The Sioux who killed him named himself Bobtail Bull.

Because Bobtail Bull killed the enemy at the small Mandan village, these people were obliged to come to Like-a-Fishhook Village for protection.

173 There is a slight variation in the myth between villages. This was determined by ascertaining the villages the various family lines had resided in. There were two distinct Mandan versions and one Hidatsa version. Several accounts were recorded of which three representative versions are given. They are: (1) Mitutanka version, supplied by Mrs. Owen Baker, granddaughter of Bobtail Bull; (2) Nuptadi version, narrated by Ben Benson; and (3) Hidatsa version, related by Bears Arm.[5]

MITUTANKA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. OWEN BAKER[6]

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539 She was a Mandan. The people went to a winter camp, coming from the Heart River. They were at the place where they dig paint near the Little Missouri. It was east of where the road crosses north of Killdeer. This place was called "Where they dig paint." They were traveling along slowly, for they had dogs. The girl and her brother got lost. Though the children were missing, the people could find no trace of them. The two children built a lodge shaped like the eagle-trapping lodge. When they had finished, they were hungry, so they looked around. They found rose berries and wild turnips. They dug a cellar and put them away for the winter.

In a short time, the sister found a friend who stayed at home all the time, but the sister rarely stayed at home. She brought in elk, deer, and many kinds of meat. One day the boy brought in an elkhide. The women tanned the hide and made a robe of it. When they finished, they pasted clam shells to it. They painted the morning star on the middle of the robe.

She said, "Leave a space where I can put something on the left side for Corn Tassel." (The Awatixa call her Red Feather.)

Her brother did not know what it all meant, so he worried about it. After he had eaten, he would lie down to worry.

The two women tanned hides for their robes and dresses. The sister did not like the place and thought it was not a good place to live, so she left the place and went to Big Timber. There she built a large lodge and had all the mysterious holy women help her. They lived there a few years. When she was away, the brother would hear a strange noise while hunting and wondered what it was, but he was never able to get the answer. One day when she was gone, his other sister told him that his sister (Feather on Head) was after him.

She said, "Did you hear a noise? That is your sister. She flies into the skies and fights there. She is trying to take your life. I will try to help you out so you will be safe. When you go hunting, if you kill an elk or buffalo, cut the meat and hide up into small pieces and throw it around where you butchered."

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[5] This version was from Awatixa Village of the Hidatsa tribe.

[6] For the Nuptadi and Awatixa versions see Appendix II.

Chapter XIV

RED STICK CEREMONY

THE Red Stick ceremony was a winter buffalo-calling rite 796
of four nights' duration and was held during the coldest part of the winter to bring the winter herds near the village. The ceremony was given by some young man who in his dream witnessed the ceremony given, heard the buffaloes singing the sacred song, or saw the ceremonial objects arranged in their proper place in his lodge.

Standing Bear, last bundle-owner before the disappearance 796
of the buffaloes, purchased the bundle from his father and 778
mother but, having no children, sold the bundle to Iron Eyes, who was not a relative.[1] The bundle consisted of a buffalo robe representing First Pretty Woman[2] and twelve flat boards painted red, with vestigial buffalo hoofs attached. One end was tapered to provide a handhold. There were a large wooden pipe, an owl, two hide rattles, a painted robe, and sage in the bundle.

There was only one song belonging to the ceremony, and it 796
referred to the information given by the twelve winter buffalo bulls who appeared during a blizzard and sang:

the one first woman pretty
has eaten most of you

The ceremony was based on a dramatization of the exploits 796
of Corn Silk, who brought back a little girl to the Mandan 773
Village. Each night the occupants of one earth lodge would disappear until the village became alarmed. The old men met to seek a solution to the mysterious disappearance of their people. One young man volunteered to fast in an effort to get advice from the spirits as to the cause of the misfortune to these households. A blizzard came in from the north, and twelve buffalo bulls, each carrying a red stick to which buffalo vestigial hoofs,

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[1] It was not possible to determine the rule of inheritance, since Standing Bear and his wives were of the same clan.

[2] Refer to the Okipa ceremony (chap. iv) for her part in those rites.

796 773 lungs, heart, and windpipe were tied, drifted along with the wind until they reached the foot of the hill where the young man was fasting. They sang a song which mentioned the name of the young girl who was the cause of the disappearance of these families. She was destroyed by burning, which freed the people she had consumed. A sacred bundle was established by the young man. A buffalo robe represented the young girl, and twelve red sticks were carved to represent the twelve buffalo bulls.

778 425 Bundle transfer was traditionally from father to son,[3] but the information on actual transfers is so limited that it was not possible to check this belief with actual transfers. The ceremony was not given after the buffalo herds disappeared.

796 778 561 The pledge to give the ceremony could be made either by an individual or by an age-grade society. In the case of the former, clan brothers of about the same age assisted by bringing their wives with food and goods. The owner of the sacred bundle would select twelve older men who had given the ceremony or who had sacred buffalo skulls, acquired through vision or purchase with bundles, to carry the red sticks. When an age-grade society gave the ceremony, the bundle-owner distributed the red sticks among the members of the next highest age-grade society who impersonated the buffalo bulls.

796 778 The ceremony was held in the giver's lodge. He paid those who carried the red sticks and the bundle-owner who set up the robe of First Pretty Woman on an ash stake to represent a young girl. These carriers of the red sticks met at the bundle-owner's lodge in the evening to receive their ceremonial paraphernalia, after which by four stages they approached the lodge where the ceremony was being held. At each stop the giver's wife would put down a robe and a corn ball.

Upon entering the lodge where the ceremonies were to be held, the carriers placed the red sticks in a row extending from the fireplace to the head of the lodge, and the image of First Pretty Woman was placed to the right of them.

During the afternoon the Black Mouths sent their criers through the village announcing the buffalo dances were to be

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777 [3] We cannot be certain that this is true. Owing to influences of the Hidatsa pattern, Mandan bundles were in the process of shifting from clan to father-son inheritance during the eighteenth century. In numerous instances where informants stated inheritance was from father to son, genealogies showed inheritance to be within the clan.

held that evening. Any of the old men could go and sit on the 796
right side nearer the door than the red-stick carriers. The young
men came in with their wives, who wore only buffalo robes, and 778
sat on the left side of the lodge (see Fig. 43). There was only
one ceremonial song; it was sung four times. The young women
brought by their husbands formed a single line, where each sat
down on her heels and walked the length of the red boards. The
woman in the lead must be one who had never had intercourse [834]
with anyone other than her present husband. The head of the
line was a coveted position, and an attempt was sometimes
made by an unqualified woman to lead the others over the red
sticks. Then some man with whom she had had intercourse
would laugh to make his presence known, whereupon she would
drop out of line and take up the last place in the procession. The
act of walking along the red sticks was known as "Walking with
the Buffalo Bulls" or "Having Intercourse with the Buffalo

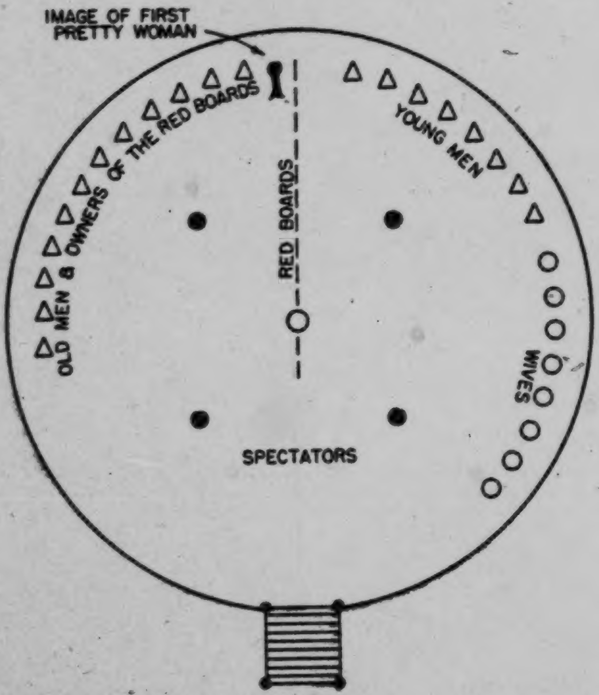
IMAGE OF FIRST PRETTY WOMAN
OLD MEN & OWNERS OF THE RED BOARDS
RED BOARDS
YOUNG MEN
WIVES
SPECTATORS

Fig. 43.—Arrangement of the lodge for the Buffalo Dance

796 Bulls." The women then returned to their places, put on their 778 buffalo robes, and passed around the food to the old men representing the buffalo bulls and to the spectators.

796 The next performance was the "Giving the Wives" to the buffalo bulls.[4] One of the young men, addressing his wife, would 837 say, "Wife, I want you to help me to become a lucky man. I 614 want you to walk with my father."[5] The rule was for a young man always to select an old man of his father's clan. If the man selected did not choose to have intercourse with his "son's" wife, he would stop her before she reached the door.

One time when Red Coyote was selected, he said: "Stop right there, my 'granddaughter.' I want you to hold my medicine bundle now. Once I fasted four days in a ravine. While I slept, an owl came to me and said that I would be a lucky man and live to be old. I have killed an enemy, captured six horses, and struck three enemies. I pray that you will live a long time, be healthy, raise many children, and keep free of diseases."[6] Both returned to their places and sat down.

Each young man selected an old man to "walk with his wife."[7] Some men stopped the women at the door and did not care to go outside with them; others went outside. In either case, the woman was given the old man's medicine bundle (vision bundle), which she clasped to her breast, believing that, by doing so, some of its powers would enter her body.

An unmarried man could participate by bringing his brother's or clan brother's wife. Men never brought women of other

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[4] This portion of the ceremony appears to have been rather famous among the early visitors to the Mandan and Hidatsa (see *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804–1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, I [New York, 1905], 245; *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri*, ed. and trans. Annie Heloise Abel [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939], pp. 196–97; Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [Cleveland, 1906], XXIII, 334; XXIV, 27–31). In addition, Thompson and Henry saw portions of a similar ceremony but apparently misinterpreted the actions (see *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell [Toronto, 1916], pp. 225–38, and "Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson," in *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, ed. Elliot Coues, I [New York, 1897], 326–27).

[5] This is what Good Bear said when he sent his wife to one of the old men, according to Mrs. Good Bear. "Father" refers to a male member of Good Bear's father's clan.

[6] Red Coyote was frozen in a late-spring blizzard near Rainy Buttes shortly after this.

[7] Mrs. Good Bear related that her ceremonial grandfather went out with her, all the while bellowing in imitation of a buffalo bull.

Chapter XVI

ADOPTION PIPE CEREMONY

THERE were many people, both men and women, owning rights in this ceremony. 796 Although Crows Heart believed 778 that the ceremony was bought from the Arikaras a long time ago, Maximilian[1] recognized two types of sacred pipes, one[2] of which had been in the tribe for a long time and which he could have seen for one hundred dollars. He describes in detail the adoption ceremony, which is in every sense identical to Crows Heart's account. The two pipes carried in the ceremony are one belonging to the seller and one the purchaser was to receive. This ceremony performed an important social and religious role. The Hidatsa and Mandan adoption were identical as to ritual and songs.

In reality it was the pipe stem that was sacred, since the red 778 stone bowls could be removed for daily use, whereas the stems were kept in bundles and were not taken out, except preliminary to an Adoption Pipe ceremony. Crows Heart is probably correct in his statement that the ceremony was bought of the Arikara, since this is the only instance when red stone pipes were used for ceremonial purposes. Objection to red stone is based on the myth wherein Good Furred Robe, in early times, was unable to introduce redstone pipes because they were the color of human blood.[3]

Crows Heart, who had been adopted twice, supplied the information on the adoption ceremony. 796

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CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF THE ADOPTION CEREMONY[4] 778

The old Mandans told me that the sacred pipes were bought from the Arikara quite a long while ago. The stand represents the cornstalks; the horse

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[1] See Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 319–21.

[2] This was known as the Corn Pipe and was in no way connected with the adoption ceremony.

[3] See Okipa ceremony origin myth (chap. iv).

[4] Lewis and Clark witnessed an adoption ceremony, but furnish few details (see *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [New York, 1905], I, 222).

796 tail hairs represent the corn silks; the stem represents an ear of corn; the birds'
597 heads are connected with the Old Woman who tends the crops. I heard that
the red heads on the pipe are from a bird that lived a long ways below Fort
778 Yates.[5] The Indians down there brought them up here and traded them for horses and corn.

If I want to adopt, I go to a young man who is son of a man who belongs
796 to my clan, which is the Prairie Chicken clan. We never adopt a person who
597 has no horses but select a man who has the finest buffalo horses. If I want to get his horses, I go out and kill a deer or possibly a buffalo, and my wife prepares a feast. Then I invite him to come with his family and visit us. My wife cleans the earth lodge up and puts down a good robe for him to sit on. When he gets through eating, and they cannot eat it all, his wife takes what is left over from the meal and goes home. Then we sit together and smoke, and I say to him, "I want to adopt you as a son, and I want to fix up my medicine pipe for you." He will always accept. If he refused, others would hear about it and say bad things about him.

When he agrees, I inquire, "How many of you will be in the family?" He will include the wife, the children, and may even include his small brothers and sisters, until there are probably six of them in all. When all is agreed upon, I tell him that I will give him the pipe many days, usually about a month, later. In the meanwhile I look around for presents and usually get together some good moccasins and leggings for the man, his wife, and their children. Sometimes we have elks' teeth, and we decorate a dress for his wife. If one is not able to get all the things he needs, he goes to his brothers and sisters for help.

796 Four days before I am to give the pipe, I invite all the old men who have
these medicine pipes to come to my lodge, and we work together repairing
778 a pipe stem. There is a song that goes with the pipes, and we sing that and
597 burn sweet grass before we open the bundle that contains the stem. Eagle tail feathers of the young eagle [black tips] are then put on the stem, and a red pipe is fitted onto it. The pipe is repaired each time a man is adopted.

On the day that the adoption is to take place, all the men having medicine
796 pipes go to the lodge of the man who is adopting the son and dress up in the
fine clothes that are to go to the young man. Then all the men go out onto the
597 prairie and make a hole in the ground representing a duck's nest. These men form a circle around the nest, holding their own medicine pipes and singing the songs that go with the pipes. By the time the men return to the village, the young man will be ready with his horses tied to the lodge, one horse for each person going into the adoption ceremonies with him. The pipe medicine people, coming in from the prairie, go directly to the young man's lodge, singing and beating drums all the while. The man doing the adopting goes ahead, carrying the pipe.

When they reach the door of the young man's lodge, all stop singing. One of the men who killed an enemy and destroyed his tepee or had other good luck in war counts his coups; how he charged a tepee, killed all, took the blankets, or whatever his record is. This man goes in first, and all the others follow. They sing and walk around the fireplace once while the man doing the adopting goes to the young man and asks him to stand up and go with him. Other Medicine Pipe men each take a boy or girl of the young man's family

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[5] See Maximilian, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-21.

and all go to the place where the dance is to be held. They sing the medicine 796
song as they go.

The lodge selected for the dance is the large Okipa lodge, which can be 597
prepared easily for the occasion. There will be at least twelve singers with drums and two dancers, one with a pipe and the other with a rattle. Nearly all the people in the village will come in for at least a few minutes, for everyone is curious to see the clothes the old man will give the young man, and the buffalo horses that he will receive. People must give good clothing and horses, or these people will speak unkindly of them. When the dance is over, the boy's clan and society come in to help him out and bring with them shirts, blankets, and leggings which are piled up before the young man.

It is then announced that the person adopted is going to be bathed and dressed by the head of the medicine pipe people. The young man is led to the center of the room, and four bunches of rushes are brought in and placed before him in the form of a square. A dish made of rushes is brought in filled with water, and one of the Medicine Pipe men steps up, counts his coups, and punches a hole through it so that the water runs onto the young man's body. A wildcat's hide is used to dry his body. None of the others in his family are bathed.

Then the young man returns to his seat, and men with blankets held out hide those who are being adopted while they are fitted out in the new clothes. Each is painted with red paint over the mouth, one streak over the nose, and two streaks over the eyes. A fine black-tipped eagle feather is put in the hair of each person adopted; then all are paraded around so that each person there can see them.

Then the horses are led into the lodge. There will be as many horses given [431]
as there are people in the family being adopted. The pile of goods brought in by the young man's friends and clan brothers is given out to the men of the Medicine Pipe Society as their pay for helping in the ceremony. When all the things have been passed out, the dancing continues for a while.

After a while the young man says to the adopted father, "Father, come over to my house and rub off my paint."

All the Medicine Pipe men go to the young man's lodge, where there is a feast. The young man is then given the pipe, and his wife is given one ear of yellow corn. The head man of the Medicine Pipe Society makes a motion as though to wash the young man, after which the young man rubs the paint off.

The old man says, "Son, I have given you my pipe. You can adopt four times. After that you can't adopt any more."

We respect these pipes highly, take them with us to war, and pray to them 778
often at such times. We call them medicine pipes because of the powers they 597
have. All the people who have such pipes belong to a society and meet at times to open their bundles and smoke the pipes. We never use them for everyday smoking.

A man sometimes adopts a daughter, and she, in turn, can adopt a young 597
man and give him a pipe, or she may adopt another woman, whichever she wishes to do. Only the men go out on the prairies to build the nest and sing the Medicine Pipe songs, however.

[p.332 is blank]

Chapter XVII

SUMMARY

796 THE ceremonies were highly formalized and were in part
773 organized on an annual basis. The Mandan attributed
776 their creation and appearance on the earth to certain magical acts of the sacred beings who preceded them to prepare the world before creating all the living things. It was believed that the sacred beings protected the people so long as the ceremonies were performed. The Mandan also believed that other peoples created by the same sacred beings in mythological times performed similar ceremonies and that the sacred beings favored those tribes making the most lavish ceremonial display of goods. It was believed that good relations must exist with all the sacred beings. To accomplish this, segments of the total ceremonialism were intrusted to certain individuals or groups of individuals, and the novice was informed that failure to perform the rites in the prescribed manner would bring bad luck.

•778 Sacred objects were believed to have *xo'pini*, which inform-
785 ants translated as meaning "power." An individual's "power" was said to increase if he fasted frequently, assisted others in the purchase of sacred bundles, or bought tribal bundles. This "power" was consumed when leading war parties, being largely gone at the end of the fourth expedition, when a man was expected to terminate his war expeditions. This "power" was believed to be lost a little at a time in the daily life of crossing rivers, hunting buffaloes, training horses, or performing other hazardous avocations. A man was believed to acquire a great
[837] deal of *xo'pini* from the buffaloes when he invited older men to have ceremonial sexual intercourse with a wife, and, by the same token, men frequently refused intercourse when they had partaken in a number of the "walking" ceremonies. Very old people were believed to have less *xopini*, having given most of it away to the younger people, particularly the men, who re-

778 quired much "power" to pursue successful war and hunting activities.

785 A Mandan would say, "I claim no power for myself. I have no power except what my sacred objects have promised me." Children were protected by the parents' bundles until they were old enough to fast.

778 A young man on his first war expedition usually carried a sacred object from his father's bundle. This practice was repeated until the potency of the son's sacred bundle was established.

789 Supernatural power was acquired by the purchase of tribal bundles, feasts to tribal bundles, ceremonial sexual license, self-torture, and by showing kindness to the old people. The Mandan also believed that some people were "adopted" by a supernatural being without the novice's knowledge, since some people possessing no important tribal or individual bundles were unusually successful.

789 796 837 787 Women participating in sexual ceremonialism during the buffalo-calling rites contributed to the husband's supernatural "powers." The writer interviewed a number of women who had "walked with the buffaloes," as the practice is called. All agreed that they sought a good home, a loyal husband who was successful in hunting and warfare, good health, and plenty of food and clothing. They believed that the sexual act was tantamount to intercourse with the buffaloes, who, when placated, sent the herds to the prairies near the villages and promised the warriors success in warfare. Ceremonial sexual intercourse strengthened the marital bonds. It was believed that the buffaloes did all that they promised in dreams. Dreams were easy to get from the buffaloes.

778 789 The concept of "power" as a substance was further demonstrated by the manner of handling sacred objects. During the buffalo-calling ceremonies, the men impersonating buffaloes held out their sacred bundles for the women to press to their naked breasts. A woman placed her arms on the "holy man," dragging her arms downward toward the hand holding the bundle as though drawing the sacred powers possessed from the body into the sacred bundle, which was then taken from the buffalo impersonator and held to her breast. By this act it was

believed that the supernatural powers were transferred to her 778
own body. These supernatural powers were in turn transmitted
to her husband in the daily activities of living and working together. 789
Men receiving sacred objects either to own or to hold
took them in the same manner but did not hold them to the
breast.

The faith of the Mandan in their sacred objects was unshaken 778
by two severe smallpox epidemics. They speak of these epidemics
as unfortunate and explain the impotency of their rites 731
to protect the tribe on the grounds that, when the original ceremonies
were introduced into the tribe, the sacred beings made
no promise of tribal immunity to the white man's diseases. They
believe that the tribe would have been exterminated by their
enemies subsequent to the last smallpox epidemic had the ceremonies
been abandoned.

The Mandan sacred bundles fall into two general categories. 778
They are (1) the hereditary tribal bundles and (2) the personal
bundles. Of these two groups of bundles, the former played a
more significant role in the total ceremonial life and in a large
measure set the background for the supernatural experiences
which instituted the personal bundles.

At this point it would be well to indicate some of the general 778
characteristics of these bundles not indicated in the main body
of the report. The Mandan place greatest values on those 796
bundles and ceremonies which traditionally were instituted in
very early times. Foremost of these are the Okipa, founded by
Lone Man and Hoita, and those Corn ceremonies which were
founded by Good Furred Robe. Not only are these two ceremonies
considered oldest, but they also involve the greatest
number of participants.

The Okipa was without question the most complicated and 778
colorful ceremony performed in the Northern Plains. According 796
to tradition, the principal officers of the ceremony belonged to
the WaxikEna clan. This clan was intrusted with the care and 614
repair of the sacred cedar and other sacred objects appertaining 428
to the ceremony. A male member of that clan occupied the
sacred lodge and acted as announcer whenever tribal ceremonies
were performed. A man selected one of his own clan to
become his son-in-law to perpetuate the lineage in the sacred

778 lodge. The principal officer of the Okipa was the Lone Man,
who, traditionally, belonged to the WaxikEna clan. The rights
796 to impersonate Lone Man were inherited through the WaxikEna
614 clan. A buyer was assisted by his brothers and sisters, who
428 became secondary owners in the bundle. Should the buyer die,
a brother was entitled to officiate until a new owner was qualified.
When the bundle-owner had no brothers, the sisters' husband
was authorized to officiate by performing a ceremonial
feast to the bundle until a qualified successor in the clan was selected.
[604] The bundle and office passed from a man to his sister's
son. A man could sell his rights in the office four times, but few
sales were made in later years, since there were two separate
bundle lineages representing the two villages built near Fort
Clark which were adequate to meet ceremonial needs. In fact,
one of these lineages died out shortly after 1837 and was never
re-established. The Hoita lineage, though theoretically in the
WaxikEna clan, was, in historic times, held temporarily by a
member of the Tamisik clan.

778 Although villages were reported to be largely independent
ceremonially, they were not entirely so. The three sacred turtle
621 drums were kept by individual members of the WaxikEna clan
at Nuptadi Village, one of the east-side villages of the Heart
River group, and were borrowed by the other villages when the
Okipa was to be performed. In later years when the tribe moved
to Fort Clark, these drums were kept at the Upper Village situated
near Deapolis. Each village was believed to possess its own
complement of officers. There was, however, a certain amount
of collaboration between villages when new officers were receiving
training.

778 The sacred cedar was erected in each village if the village
group had a complete complement of Okipa officers. It was the
621 rule that, whenever a ceremony or organized social event was
361 performed in the summer village, out of respect to Lone Man,
whose body was represented by this inclosed post, the group
[431] should dance once at this sacred shrine. On these occasions,
gifts of robes or other clothing were placed over the cedar as an
[782] offering to the Lone Man and became the property of the
WaxikEna clan. The Mandan considered the entire open-circle
area inclosing the sacred cedar sacred also. Even as late as

1929, informants unwilling to divulge sacred lore were equally 778
unwilling to divulge the arrangement of lodges around this 621
circle. Their explanation was that the area was sacred because 361
they had suffered there during the Okipa, standing at this point
in the village when thongs were inserted in their flesh for dragging
buffalo skulls, or because so many ceremonies had been
performed there. When ceremonies were performed at the winter
camps, it was customary to leave goods at the sacred cedar
when returning later to the summer village.

Mandan informants disagree relative to the purpose of performing 796
the Okipa ceremony. All give a number of reasons; they
are: to bring buffaloes to the village; to acquaint young people
with the history of the tribe; to give the young men an opportunity
to fast. White Calf thought that the principal reason for
performing the ceremony was to bring all the gods back so that
all the holy beings would be working for the Mandan and not
their enemies. He remarked that summer was the season when
the gods, particularly the big birds, returned. At this point it is
interesting to note that, although a restricted number of officers
were intrusted with the direction and performance of this
ceremony, on the third day, known as "Everything Comes
Back Day," characters represented in the ceremony comprised
most of the major bundle-owners of the village.

The person pledging the ceremony was known as the Okipa 796
Maker. The ceremony was considered a "sacred feast to tribal
bundles," and the benefits accruing to the Okipa Maker were 554
comparable to those received when offering a feast to any other
sacred bundles. He received a section of a sand-bar willow for
his sacred bundle and was entitled to participate in important
tribal discussions. There was no clan restriction as to performance.
However, only those who had demonstrated bravery and
industry were permitted to give the ceremony.

The principal officers of the Okipa were Lone Man and 796
Hoita impersonators and the singers. They received their
rights after undergoing formal training. For new officers, tribal 793
recognition of their authority was given at a ceremonial feast
held prior to the performance of the Okipa. Actually, one desiring
to participate in the Okipa and being eligible according to
the rules of inheritance underwent instruction at an early age,

destroy the Mandans. Sacred myths played an important role 796
in the interpretation of situations arising from time to time. 773
First of all, these myths constituted the traditional history of
the tribe, and the Mandan were accustomed until a few years
ago to return from time to time to these sacred places at and
near the Heart River to examine these shrines. My informants
often remarked that they would have forgotten many of these
stories had they not been able to see for themselves what the
older people had explained.[2]

The sacred myths expressed a fundamental pattern of con- 773
duct which regulated and to a certain degree regimented the
population. The fear of accident or misfortune being ever pres- 626
ent, those possessing a considerable knowledge of tribal lore
were consulted frequently by those not so well informed. A
young man accustomed to consult his elders on important matters was considered wise, and the older people would say,
"He will become eminent because he endeavors to regulate his
behavior along the line laid down by the sacred things long
ago."

The sacred myths established psychological relationships be- 796
tween bundles which to the student of Mandan ceremonialism
are otherwise not understandable. In the natives' minds certain 778 ●
bundles are related, and, when a ceremony for one of the 773
bundles of the complex was held, those having bundles believed
to be related were expected to attend. The Old Woman Who
Never Dies rites will illustrate this point. Since this culture hero
formerly cared for her gardens along the Missouri River, the
psychological relationship with the Corn Skull bundles is evident. The association of the Bear bundles with this rite become
intelligible only when examining the sacred myth in which it is
said that she used the grizzly bear for a dog because she was so
powerful that all animals were her slaves. Additional information on this point appears in the accounts of the various ceremonies which appear above.

Ceremonies were native dramatizations of the sacred myths. 796
In native theory, the details of the ceremony continued un- 773

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[2] Differences in myths and rites now recognized by the older Mandan probably represent cultural differences between villages which become apparent only when the survivors of the Heart River villages united to occupy a single village.

796 changed from generation to generation. When no sacred myth belonged to the ceremony or there were no sacred instructions
773 at the time of the inception of the ceremony, the Mandan believed these ceremonies were borrowed of neighboring tribes. The Adoption Pipe ceremony belonged in this category. The sacred myth enumerated the benefits which would accrue to the tribe and the giver of the ceremony when the rites were performed.

773 The sacred myths were the basis for an extension of the kinship system to include the world of the supernatural. First Cre-
602 ator was addressed as "very old one," while Lone Man, who as-
776 sisted him in the creation of the earth, was addressed by persons of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans as "ptawadatodE" or "mother's brother." Those of the opposite moiety addressed him as "father." Sun and Moon were "father" and their sister was "father's sister." Their mother was addressed as "grandmother," a term also used for the various holy women of the ash groves, the field mice, the corn mill, and all female beings present on the earth on the "first day of creation." An individual addressed a sacred being appearing in a dream and not belonging to the category of tribal gods as "father" if a male and "father's sister" if a female.

•778 The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of change within the last century. Certain bundles and ceremonial
425 rights traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifi-
428 cally from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to
614 the WaxikEna clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son inheritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the associated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately associated. At first I was inclined to believe that this greater flexibility was due, in part at least, to the breakdown of the older system, an opinion which I have now abandoned. The Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the par-

ents' bundle collectively and designated one of their number, 778
generally the oldest son, to be the custodian. A family having 425
only daughters sold to the son-in-law providing he had been 428
successful in warfare and had removed the mother-in-law taboo. 614

Unlike the Hidatsa, where bundle transfers were vision in-
spired, the Mandan seem to have placed greater emphasis on 778
the personality and interests of the one to receive a tribal 425
bundle. One owning an important bundle and getting along in 869
years would frequently suggest to a younger person that he should buy into the bundle rites. The period of preparation was prolonged and frequently extended over several years. Since bundle rights could be sold four times, there were usually a number of people receiving instructions simultaneously. New bundles were made up for those buying part of the rites, while the original bundle was retained for the nearest relatives. When feasts were given to the bundle, all those having any rights in the bundle or related bundle rites were entitled to attend. This practice extended the ritualistic lore to many persons outside the immediate bundle-owner's family and probably explains why so much of the traditional lore was preserved through the smallpox epidemic of 1837. So far as it was possible to determine, the number of tribal bundle rites was not materially reduced during the nineteenth century.

The personal bundles constitute another important group of 778
sacred objects. These were individually owned and were rarely
inherited. The bundle was assembled after receiving a vision 787
from some supernatural being, instructing him to assemble a bundle which would bring certain benefits to the individual. Unlike the tribal bundles, a buffalo skull was not a part of the bundle, and there were no sacred myths. There was a sacred song and a prescribed rule of behavior to be followed when the bundle was open. An unusually successful individual would sometimes sell his bundle to a son about to leave on a war expedition. These bundles, however, were rarely sold and were usually put away when the original owner died.

Both men and women had personal bundles. Women usually 778
fasted less frequently and had only one bundle; usually the 554
guardian spirit promised her a long life and the right to cure. Men fasted frequently and were recognized for the number of

778 sacred bundles they had acquired, providing, of course, they
554 had been successful in life and had not "kicked the stone." One
having repeated bad luck usually put his bundles away and
sought new vision experiences. This could not be done with tribal
bundles. The only instance on record of an attempt to dispose
425 of a tribal bundle was made by Red Bird in 1838, a year after
778 the smallpox epidemic when he lost a son of smallpox. A son-in-law
offered to buy the bundle and received tribal approval of the
transfer. Personal bundles were normally taken to the scaffold
and hung with the pipe and firearms when the owner died.

796 In summary, the above report covers the main features of the
Mandan ceremonial life so far as it was possible to ascertain. In
178 evaluating the data supplied by informants, the writer gave
especial emphasis to the information of those informants whose
114 parents lived in the Nuptadi village which was occupied at
Deapolis as a separate Mandan village after the Fort Clark village group had united with the Hidatsa. It was found that the Mandan preserved their ceremonial structure with minor variations after the smallpox epidemic. The clan system and age-grade organization were simplified to meet the new conditions of a reduced population. I have not attempted to indicate cultural borrowing, since a companion report covering details of the Hidatsa social and ceremonial organization is in the process of preparation. So far as the Mandan were concerned, there is little evidence of ceremonial borrowing since 1837, owing in large part, no doubt, to the heavy ceremonial burden inherited from earlier times when the population was materially larger. That the Mandan have played an important role in the growth of Plains culture must be inferred from their central position in the Low Plains, the high development in trade for agricultural products with their nomadic neighbors, and the admitted borrowing by the Hidatsa of many significant elements of their culture.

tween, these were the scalp poles and effigies of the gods. The 361
ground on which the village was located was chosen for defence,
the bluff on the river side went down perpendicularly, and the
village was on a point jutting out into the river so that only
one side needed protection. Across this point was a palisade 361
and inside this was a ditch, three to four feet deep according to 712
Catlin. The palisade, he says, was of timbers eighteen feet
high and one or more feet in diameter, set far enough apart to
allow of shooting between. The warriors stayed in the ditch
in defending the palisade. Concerning this palisade Henry and
Maximilian both mention that it was in very poor repair
indeed, but Henry adds that he was told it could be put in
good condition very soon, every person in the village lending
a hand. There is yet no mention of bastions and ramparts
such as Verendrye refers to, but Maximilian[1] describes something similar. He says that at the corners of the palisade in
four places were arcs or bastions, which formed an angle open
toward the village, and said to have been built by the whites.
These were intrenchments in the form of an arc, covered with
a matting of willow and having loop holes.

On entering the village it seemed to be a mass of circular 342
houses from forty to ninety feet in diameter, set down haphazard closely crowded together. The houses were of earth
with a smooth coating of pounded clay on the top, where most
of the inhabitants were usually stationed. Before each house 343
was a scaffold, fronting the covered entrance. These scaffolds
were six feet high, twenty feet long and ten broad[2] and were
used for hanging up corn and meat to dry. They had a good
floor, also, which was covered in the fall with drying beans. The
staging for drying corn and meat was made as follows:[3] posts
were set up on the scaffolds themselves, across these rafters
were laid, and upon these cross rafters or poles the corn,
meat and sliced squashes were hung. Before almost every 778
house were one or more poles about twenty feet high, to
which images of the gods, or sacrifices to them were
attached.

In the center of the village was a large open space of about 000

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[1] Op. cit., p. 81.

[2] Henry: vol. I, p. 340.

[3] Ibid.

In the center of the village was a large open space of about four acres[1] and in the center of this was the "Ark of the First 361 Man." This was in the shape of a hogshead, of planks and 778● hoops.[2] It was open above, the planks were embedded in the ground, and the hoops were branches tied around to hold these together. The Mandans called this the Big Canoe[3] and in it were some of their greatest medicines. This open space was the seat of all their festivals, dances and ceremonies, and here also they played their games of Chungkee or Skohpe. The space was closely surrounded by houses placed at equal distances apart and all facing the center. The largest of these [346] lodges on the south side of the area was the medicine lodge, and on a pole above this was a figure of skin, with a carved wooden head, which represented the Evil Spirit.

About one quarter of a mile or less to the south of the village was a race-course; a hundred or more scaffolds on which 361 the dead were deposited; slides for their games were also [764] made outside the palisades. The ground about the houses was honeycombed with pits and caches in which most of the food [351] and many of the valuables of the inhabitants were stored. The house roofs formed a general repository where bull boats, buffalo skulls, pottery, sledges and people were scattered promiscuously over the rounded surface, around the edge of which Bradbury says they built a sort of low railing.

HOUSES:—The houses themselves were many times described, sometimes with considerable variation, and it is highly 342 probable that there was more or less variation of construction in the minor details. They were distinguished from those of the Arikara in that the ground was first excavated, and that [171] they were rather hemispherical, whereas the houses of the latter were more conical, like those of the Pawnee. Catlin[4] places the average size of the houses at from forty to sixty feet in diameter, depending on the size and importance of the family, and Henry[5] tells us that the one in which he himself stayed was ninety feet in diameter.

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[1] Henry: vol. I, p. 338. "Sixty feet across," Maximilian: p. 336; "One hundred and fifty feet," Catlin: vol. I, p. 88.

[2] Catlin gives this as eight to ten feet high, Maximilian as four or five.

[3] Catlin: vol. I, p. 88.

[4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 81.

[5] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 338.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906

NQ17 Mandan NQ17

had been shot six times; some wore a wooden knife, a sign they 721
had killed an enemy with a knife. Maximilian describes one 554
man, a chief, whose face was painted half yellow and half 361
red, with stripes made by rubbing the color off; his arms had 362
seventeen lines showing the number of his deeds, and on his breast, in yellow, was a hand showing that he had made prisoners.

When a youth first wished to lead a war party he at once 701
acquired a medicine. Then he solicited his young men friends 554
by presents and assurances of the efficacy of his medicine and 778
after feasts and dances he departed with as many followers as he could get. In the large war parties there were four real leaders and sometimes three others called bad leaders. Each real leader carried a medicine pipe in a case on his back. To become a chief it was necessary to begin as a war party leader, then to kill a man while in a party where the candidate was not a leader. Again, while following another leader, he must be the first to discover the enemy and kill one of them, and lastly he must have owned at some time a white buffalo hide. Each 726
warrior carried about his neck the whistle of his band, and at the moment of falling upon the enemy these were blown and the war-cry was sounded.

The Mandans seldom took male prisoners but even when 727
taken they were never tortured. As soon as a prisoner had entered the village and eaten corn he was considered as one of the nation; the women, however, could go out and meet the returning party and kill the prisoners then. Scalps were dried and used in decoration. When a successful war party returned they were met by the women and children who entered the village with them dancing the scalp dance. The warriors painted the face, and often the whole body, black, and the scalp dance was danced in the medicine lodge four nights, then later in the middle of the village. If no Mandan was killed in the campaign, the dance was kept up for six months.

In all these war customs we find nothing more than the [171]
general plains ideas such as were found in all the Sioux tribes and among most of their neighbors.

561 the buyers. The first band was that of "The Dogs Whose Names Are Not Known." To this band boys from ten to fifteen years of age could belong. Maximilian was told that at first older men might belong to this band but that this was afterwards changed. Admission to this society and the learning of the dance was bought from a member by the boy's father. Maximilian says that the dances of all the bands were about the same, the differences being in the songs. Each band had a particular drum and rattle.

The second band was the "Band of the Crows" composed of men from twenty to twenty-six years of age.[1] There was usually an interval between the first and the second band when the man belonged to no group. Crow plumes were the distinguishing feature of this division.

561 The third society was the "Soldier Band" and was com-
625 posed of the most distinguished warriors of the tribe. The
members of this band could never retreat before an enemy.
623 Another feature was its possession of two sacred pipes. All
● [778] members of the higher bands belonged at the same time to
this one. This group had charge of policing and regulating the
[71] village, a well-known feature of the Soldier Band among the
Sioux and other plains tribes. They formed a committee
which regulated all the important affairs of the nation, fixed
the time for hunts and applied all the laws.[2]

561 The fourth division was the "Dog Band." Three members from this wore a red cloth down the back such as all the first band wore. These three were known as the Dogs, and anyone could throw a piece of meat on the floor or in the fire, saying "There, Dog, eat," and any of these three must obey.

The fifth band was that of the "Buffalos" or "Wolves." These in dancing wore the skin of a buffalo head with the horns. The two bravest, chosen by all, who never under any conditions could flee from an enemy, wore the whole head and horns and
[534] looked through artificial eyes. This was the only band which had a wooden drum. In this society there was also one woman who offered the two head dancers a basin of water as they danced.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 409.

[2] Ibid., p. 411.

which were pushed in as they burnt. This was done because the 372
First Man told them they must never have a big fire after the
day's cooking was done and showed them how it should be [773]
built. It recalls the sacred fire of the Muskogi and other tribes
of the lower Mississippi. They declared that many of the every
day customs were taught them thus and consequently they
always did them a certain way,—thus Ochkih-Hedde taught
them to tattoo themselves, and their first chief taught them to
kill buffalo and to make shields.

The Mandans practiced penances and sacrifices, especially 782
self-torture which they carried to great extremes. Their medicine 304
or personal guardian spirit was acquired by three or four
days fasting and self injury, after which the medicine, often an 776
animal, appeared to the candidate in a dream. This ceremony 785
was also taught to them by Ochkih-Hedde. No expedition or
enterprise was undertaken without a liberal sacrifice to some
supernatural being, either by offering valuable goods or by
physical self-torture. Finger joints were frequently cut off as
an offering to the gods and fasting was common as a propitiation.
Often a day or more would be spent near one of the medicine
scaffolds in groaning, praying and weeping. Lewis and [765]
Clarke relate that finger joints were also cut off as a sign of
mourning, which Maximilian denies, and Catlin tells how such
a sacrifice was a part of the catalogue of tortures in the great
Okeepa dance. The custom of consecrating personal property 782
is found here as among the neighboring tribes. A man could 574
make his gun, his horse, his pipe and other similar articles
medicine by going through certain ceremonies, most important
of which was the giving of a feast. The feast[1] was announced
by a public crier, a certain number of guests were invited, the
invitations being originally little rods and later playing cards.
The drum and rattle made the round of the company. Then
the article was consecrated; if a gun, it was rubbed with meal
several times, with soup, and lastly with fat, after which the feast
took place.

There were many shrines and sacred articles among the Mandans, 778
but judging from the accounts, the sacred bundles or

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[1] Maximilian: p. 463.

778 medicine bags as Maximilian calls them, seem to have been much less important than among the Arikara. Nevertheless these bundles were by no means absent. Maximilian relates that each man had his own medicine bag, the contents of which no one else might see. In addition to this there was a large medicine bag in the medicine lodge within which, Maximilian tells us, were preserved three sacred skulls, those of the chief who had led them out from underground, of his sister, and of his brother — also this chief's rattle. In the medicine lodge were also the sacred rattle and the four drums of hide, filled with water, which were made to resemble turtles and which they claimed, according to Catlin, they had always had. They had a sacred pipe or calumet also, which Maximilian was not allowed to see, the price of looking at it alone being placed at one hundred dollars. He says[1] that it was very hard for the Mandans to get these sacred pipes and much more trouble to consecrate them. Certain things must be hung upon them and among these was the skull of an animal which at that time was not found in the vicinity, and for which an enormous price had to be given. There were many other pipes called medicine pipes belonging to private owners, these however were merely ordinary pipes which had been consecrated by the ceremony already described. 778 825 Each Mandan regarded his own medicine as a sacred animal, and in addition there were several animals which were regarded as sacred throughout the whole tribe. Owls and screech owls were kept in the lodges to predict the future. The war-eagle was considered as having great medicine power and they kept all sorts of birds of prey alive in the huts for their plumes. Geese were considered to be very sacred also, first because in one of their tales the Lord of Life turned into a goose and flew away with a flock of them, and also as they are the messengers of the Old Woman Who Never Dies or the Corn Mother. Of greatest importance among these sacred animals, however, was the white buffalo, whose hide was the 778 [439] most valuable article that a Mandan could possess. The hides were bought mostly from other nations, they were tanned with horns and hoofs on, and were not valuable unless of heifers

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[1] Op. cit., p. 439.

under two years old. These hides were worth ten to fifteen horses or sixty ordinary robes. No man could be of great importance in the tribe unless he had at one time owned one of them. Immediately on its acquisition the hide was hung up on a pole before the owner's lodge and consecrated to the Lord of Life, the sun, or the First Man. The ceremony of consecration was rather elaborate and was conducted by the shaman. A great mass of valuables, the collection of three or four years, was also offered or given away at the same time. The robe was either left suspended until it rotted away, or was taken down and cut into strips, one of which was worn by each member of the owner's family. 778 554 778 782

The Mandans seem to have had something in the nature of shrines and sacred images both natural and artificial. First among the artificial ones might be mentioned the Ark or Big Canoe which has already been described. This formed the central figure for most of the Mandan ceremonial dances. There was also the image of Ochkih-Hedde which hung before the medicine lodge; and there were similar images hanging before nearly every one of the other lodges, these were made of skin, branches and earth[1] and were intended to represent the Lord of Life and the First Man. Other shrine-like structures were built on the prairie. One of these is described by Maximilian.[2] " . . . Four poles are placed in a square, the two front ones garnished at the base with a pile of earth and sod. Between them are four buffalo skulls in a row, between the two back poles are twenty-six human skulls painted partly with red stripes, behind the whole are two knives fixed in the ground. The poles are surmounted by bundles of branches; on these again is a crest of pieces of sharp wood, the ends painted red. . . . Sometimes on two of the poles are tied stuffed figures to represent the sun and moon, or the Lord of Life and the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Wild absinthe (wormwood) is attached by handfuls to the poles." These are probably the same things which Catlin mentions in connection with the burial customs. 778

Chief among the natural shrines was the medicine rock of 778 787

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[1] Maximilian: p. 444.

[2] Ibid., p. 460.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906

NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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which Lewis and Clarke, Henry, Catlin, and Maximilian all give accounts. The Mandans told Lewis and Clarke that this rock, which was at three days march to the southwest, informed them of every thing to happen during the year and that they visited it every spring and sometimes in the summers.[1] The description which Maximilian gives of this rock seems worth repetition: "It is situated at two or three days from the village on the edge of the Cannonball River from which it is about one hundred paces. They say it is on the summit of a rather high hill, the top of which is level. It is marked by the footprints of men and other animals, dogs and travois. It is a sort of oracle. They offer it all sorts of valuable articles — knives, pipes, cloth. . . . When going to war they pass near and consult the stone. They approach it, weep, groan, smoke, and retire to a distance where they pass the night. Next day they take down on parchment what the stone shows. This painted parchment is carried to the village where the old men interpret it. Undoubtedly new figures are seen on the stone from time to time. Not far from this place was the ark where part of the nation was saved." The Minnetarees also had one of these medicine stones which was consulted in practically the same way. One more of their natural sacred objects deserves 778 mention; this was a lake some distance from their villages 782 where a great serpent, formerly a Mandan warrior, was said to reside. This serpent was a good genius and offerings of all sorts were thrown into the lake to procure his aid.

791 The shaman although mentioned occasionally is not described, nor are his powers well defined by any of the authorities. Maximilian remarked that there were shamans who gathered herbs and pretended to cure diseases and others who did tricks and conducted preparations for the ceremonies.

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MYTHOLOGY:—Practically all material on Mandan mythology comes from Maximilian who wrote down a large number of stories directly as they were told to him by a Mandan chief, Dipeuch. Catlin and Lewis and Clarke reinforce these with a few details. It is found by analysis of the myths given by Maximilian that two distinct, parallel, mythological stories of

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[1] Lewis and Clarke: Feb. 21, 1805.

After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-Foxes
575 rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again
608 selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was
432 not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the
527 one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed
in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for
his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice
fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of
his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed
since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the
575 purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers
432 to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions
431 a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see
p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance
and brought food for the sellers.

At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a
575 rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope
●778 they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth
527 sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers
837 then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands,
approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of
533 the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast
and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the
same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing.
The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband
then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his
song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together.
575 Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were
[841] not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter
837 of fact, Black-chest says that only ~~very~~ few fathers availed themselves of
the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did.
432 The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty
527 nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took
her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and
[782] stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me
his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and
happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies."
After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned
to the lodge.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They 575
formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up 527
the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, 292
raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their
position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed
by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth [304]
and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the
society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also
wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles
of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.[1]

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the 575
important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were 787
expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar 535
function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks
of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315).
Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization,
for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance
at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask
for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.[2]
Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo
dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued
their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted.
The dance of the society is thus described by Boller:

> The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the
> regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony
> was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three
> in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by
> singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or
> fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all
> attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermilion [302]
> on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and
> dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined
> around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a [778] ●
> white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around
> her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power
> as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.[3]

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[1] Ibid., 283-284, 297.

[2] Catlin, I, 127-128.

[3] Boller, 218-219.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913

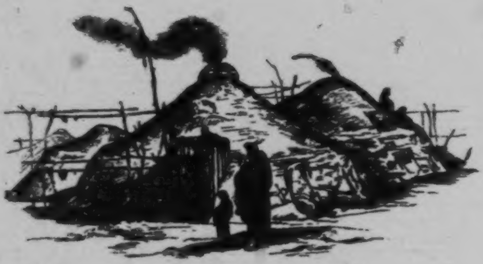
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

I will now present my own field notes concerning this society. 575
Calf-woman joined the White Buffalo women when she was only two
years old. Two years later she began to take part in the performances. 432
Some old women went round the village looking for a female child whose 535
parents loved her dearly and had given away a great deal of property in her
honor. They came to Calf-woman's parents, and these consented to have
their daughter adopted. Calf-woman's mother gave Brave-woman one
pony and several blankets on this occasion. Whenever there was a dance
of the society, a member named Berry carried the newly adopted infant on
her back. There were about fifty women members, and five men acted
as singers. The most important dance, or ceremony, of the society took
place once a year, in the winter, on four successive nights. Sometimes the
dance was kept up every other night for a month.

In preparation for the great ceremony the Indians of the village gathered 575
an abundance of food and property for the society. Each member had a
red line painted on the right side of her face, from temple to eyebrow, and a 527
corresponding line in blue on the opposite side. All wore the buffalo skin 292
caps emblematic of the organization and put on only on this special occasion,
and moreover each member wore a buckskin dress and a robe. Three
officers were distinguished by wearing their robes hair side out. The leader
of this trio had a *white* buffalo skin robe; Calf-woman, who walked in the
center, wore the best *calf* skin robe obtainable; and the third officer donned a
coarse-haired robe. In approaching the earth-lodge where the ceremony
was to be performed, the members halted four times on the way. At each
stopping-place they formed a circle and danced in the same way as they were
going to do in the lodge. The leader entered the lodge and made a circuit
walking to the right (for one entering). A buffalo cow skull had been [778] ●
placed at the foot of the northwestern main pole in the center of the lodge,
and *átüre* was burnt for incense in front of it. A special incense-burner
conducted the leader to the skull, letting her stand there so that she might
be smoked, and then led her back again to her place. The two other officers
mentioned above were similarly treated. North of the door, in a line
in front of that joining the two southern center poles, sat the five men singers.
As soon as these musicians began to sing, the leader, the middle 575
officer, and the rear officer danced forward to the fireplace, where they 527
met, and then danced in position, facing the fire. After they had returned 535
to their original places, a special song was chanted. This was a signal for
the incense-burner to go dancing from member to member and remove
their robes. Then the dancing began. Every song and dance was repeated
four times. Towards the close of the first night's performance a
particular song was intoned, indicating that the paint was to be rubbed off

state of decay, were erected for the Indians by the Whites. There is nothing of the kind 361
at Ruhptare. The huts, as I have before remarked, stand close to each other, leaving, in the 712
centre, an open circular space, about sixty paces in diameter, in the centre of which (among the Mandans) the ark of the first man is set up,[1] of which we shall speak in the sequel. It is a small cylinder, open above, made of planks, about four or five feet high, fixed in the ground, and bound with climbing plants, or pliable boughs, to hold them together (see the woodcut, p. 342).

At the north end of this circular space is the medicine lodge, in which festivals are 361
celebrated, and certain customs practised, which are connected with the religious notions of this 346
people, which we shall treat of in the sequel. At the top of a high pole, a figure is here 778
placed, made of skins, with a wooden head, the face painted black, and wearing a fur cap and feathers, which is intended to represent the evil spirit, Ochkih-Hadda (corresponding with the devil), or a wicked man, as they affirm, who once appeared among them, had neither wife nor child, and vanished, and whom they now stand greatly in dread of. Other grotesque figures, made of skins and bundles of twigs, we saw hanging on high poles, most of them being offerings
to the deity. Among the huts are many stages of several stories, supported by poles, on which [343]
they dry the maize. The huts themselves are of a circular form, slightly vaulted, having a sort 342
of portico entrance. When the inmates are absent the entrance is shut up with twigs and thorns; and if they wish merely to close the door they put up a skin stretched out on a frame, which is shoved aside on entering. In the centre of the roof is a square opening for the smoke to find vent, over which is a circular sort of screen made of twigs, as a protection against the wind and rain, and which, when necessary, is covered with skins (see woodcut).



The interior of the hut is spacious, tolerably light, and cleanly. Four strong pillars towards the middle, with several cross beams, support the roof. The inner circumference of the hut is formed by eleven or fifteen thick posts, four or five feet in height, between which other rather shorter ones are placed close to each other. On these shorter posts, which are all of an equal

[1] [This shrine, the sacred cedar, represents the culture hero's body. See Category 116, Source 2: Bower, pp. 24, 116 for a more up-to-date summary.--Analyst]

650 at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote. One of their 771 chiefs never smoked out of a stone pipe, but always used a wooden one. Mato-Topé never 778 partook of other people's tobacco, but always smoked by himself, with the doors shut. They 276 do not willingly show their medicines or amulets, which are usually kept wrapped up in a bundle or bag, and never opened except on important occasions. They have particular medicine pipes, or, as the English call them, medicine stems, which are uncovered and used for smoking only on solemn occasions. Many make such pipes according to their own taste; such, for instance, was the pipe of Dipauch (Plate XXI. fig. 3). The bowl was nearly in the form of a Turkish pipe, and was made of brownish-red clay; the tube, which was rather short and thick, represented the lord of life in human form, but which it required some stretch of the imagination to discover. The nation preserves a celebrated pipe of this kind as a sacred relic, which no stranger is permitted to see. It has been in their possession since remote ages, and they offered to show it to me 435 for the value of 100 dollars. The Indians cannot obtain such pipes but at a considerable expense: 439 many of the necessary ornaments are not to be procured among them, such as the upper bill and the red crown of a species of woodpecker (*Picus pileatus*, Linn.), a bird which is not found so high up the Missouri. For the head of one of these woodpeckers, which was brought from 597 St. Louis, they gave a large handsome buffalo robe, worth six or eight dollars. If a man possesses such a pipe, he sometimes conceives the idea of adopting a medicine son. The young man 796 whom he is to choose appears to him in a dream; it is, however, requisite that he should be of a 171 good family, or have performed some exploit. He acquaints him with his intention, and, after having provided two similar medicine pipes, he asks his newly-adopted son, whether he is ready to undergo the ceremony of the pipes? The latter frequently answers in the affirmative, and the time for the ceremony is fixed: but, if he has not yet made up his mind, it is deferred. The adoptive father then chooses two young men, who practise the medicine dance together, with the two pipes in their hands. The father often dances, in the morning, on the roof of his hut, and instructs these two young men. When the time arrives, and the adopted son is ready for the ceremony, the father, with all his relations, and the two young dancers, repairs to the hut of his newly-chosen son, and brings him a present of maize, cloth, blankets, kettles, and other valuable articles. The father takes his son by the hand and makes him sit down, after which the company dance round him, with the two pipes; they sing, accompanied by the drum and schischikué, the two young dancers keeping time to the music with their pipes. When the ceremony is over, and the presents laid in one or two heaps, the relations of the medicine son bring horses, cloth, blankets, and other things of value, which the two parties reciprocally divide between them. The father then again takes his son by the hand, makes him rise from his seat, and dresses him in new clothes from head to foot, and likewise paints his face according to his fancy. The dress and pipe are henceforth his property, and he is considered as a real son, who must support and defend his father.

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This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux 597
there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet 171
for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and
the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, 791
there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned 171
ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans,
Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the 778
opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. 554
Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who
has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the
other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his
head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the 782
lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man.
He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then
hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood
of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of 556
eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give 431
away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief 602
means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal,
does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his
relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not
unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and
then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain
reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people
in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display
all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity,
as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the
greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c.,
which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other,
and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the 778
distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate 281
as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, [439]
purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being
well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a
young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

778 nose, hoofs, and tail. The value of ten to fifteen horses is given for it. A certain Mandan gave
281 ten horses, a gun, some kettles, and other articles, for such a hide. The white hide of a bull or
[435] of an old cow is by no means so valuable. The white hide of a young cow suffices for all the
daughters of a family. They do not wear it as a robe, like the Manitaries, or, at the utmost, the
wife, or one of the daughters of the family, wears it once at some great festival, but never a second
796 time. The Mandans have particular ceremonies at the dedication of the hide. As soon as they
have obtained it they engage an eminent medicine man, who must throw it over him; he then
walks round the village in the apparent direction of the sun's course, and sings a medicine song.
When the owner, after collecting articles of value for three or four years, desires to offer his
treasure to the lord of life, or to the first man, he rolls it up, after adding some wormwood or a
head of maize, and the skin then remains suspended on a high pole till it rots away. At the
time of my visit there was such an offering at Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, near the stages for the dead
without the village. Sometimes, when the ceremony of dedication is finished, the hide is cut
into small strips, and the members of the family wear parts of it tied over the head, or across the
554 forehead, when they are in full dress. If a Mandan kills a young white buffalo cow, it is
224 accounted to him as more than an exploit, or having killed an enemy. He does not cut up the
animal himself, but employs another man, to whom he gives a horse for his trouble. He alone
who has killed such an animal is allowed to wear a narrow strip of the skin in his ears. The
whole robe is not ornamented, being esteemed superior to any other dress, however fine. The
[435] traders have, sometimes, sold such hides to the Indians, who gave them as many as sixty other
[136] robes in exchange. Buffalo skins with white spots are likewise highly valued by the Mandans;
but there is a race of these animals with very soft silky hair, which has a beautiful gold lustre
when in the sunshine: these are, likewise, highly prized, and sold for ten or fifteen dollars, and,
778 sometimes, for the value of a horse. Besides the white buffalo skins which are offered in sacrifice
and hung on poles, there are, in the vicinity of the villages of the Mandans and Manitaries,
other strange figures on high poles, as represented in Plate XXV. These figures are composed
of skin, grass, and twigs, which, it seems, represent the sun and moon, perhaps, also, the lord of
life, and the first man. The Indians resort to them when they wish to petition for anything,
and sometimes howl and lament for days and weeks together.

796 The Mandans have several medicine festivals, of which the Okippe, or the penitential ceremony of the ark, is by far the most remarkable. It is celebrated in the spring or summer, and I regret to say that I cannot describe it as an eye-witness. I am, however, enabled to give a circumstantial description of it, word for word, as it was communicated to me by men initiated in the mysteries of the nation.*

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* The author refers to a letter on this subject, written by Mr. Catlin, and published in a New York paper; but this is by no means so complete as that given in his valuable work published last year.—*Translator's Note.*

773 labourers, and the mouse, the mole, and the before-mentioned stags, perform the work. The birds,
which fly from the sea-shore in the spring, represent the old woman, who then travels to the
north to visit "the old man who never dies," and who always resides in that quarter. She does
not, however, stop there long, but generally returns in three or four days. In former times, the
old woman's hut was near the little Missouri, where the Indians often went to visit her. One day,
twelve Manitaries came to her, and she set before them a pot of maize, which was so small, that
it was not sufficient to satisfy even one; but she invited them to eat, and, as soon as the pot was
empty, it was instantly refilled, and all the twelve men had enough. This occurred several
times while the old woman resided in that spot.

773 Serpents, especially the rattlesnakes, are in a greater or less degree "medicine" for these
people, who kill them, and cut off the rattles, which they regard as an effectual remedy in many
755 diseases. They chew one of the joints, and wet various parts of the body of the patient with
[825] the saliva. They likewise believe in the existence of a colossal medicine serpent, which lives in
778 a lake three or four days' journey from this place, and to which they make offerings. The
following is their tradition of this monster:—Two young men were strolling along the bank of
the river, and observed a cavern, through which curiosity led them to go. On reaching the
further end, they were surprised at beholding a picturesque country, wholly unknown to them,
where numerous herds of buffaloes were grazing. Suddenly, however, an immense giant stood
before them, who demanded—"Who are you, you little people? I am afraid, if I were to lay
hold of you, I should crush you!" He then lifted them in his hands very carefully, and
carried them into the village, which was inhabited by giants like himself. Accompanied by the
two Mandans, they went out to hunt buffaloes. The giants killed the buffaloes by throwing
stones, but the Mandans destroyed many with their arrows, which greatly delighted the giants.
At that time the giants were at war with the eagles, which were very numerous, and which
they slew by flinging stones. The Mandans, however, shot them with arrows, so that they
speedily procured a large quantity of eagles' feathers. They then took leave of the giants, and
were permitted to depart with all their valuable feathers. On their return they found the cave
blocked up by a colossal serpent. At first they were at a loss how to make a passage, but
they soon collected a large pile of wood and burnt the monster. One of them tasted the roasted
flesh of the serpent, and, finding it palatable, partook of more. They proceeded on their way, when
the head of the Mandan who had tasted the serpent's flesh began to swell prodigiously, and an
intolerable itching came over his face. He begged his friend not to leave him, but to take him home.
On the second day he continued to swell, increased in length, felt an irritation all over, and
773 was soon afterwards transformed into a serpent, upon which he begged his companion to take
him to the Missouri, which the latter accomplished in three days. As soon as the serpent reached
778 the water, he dived, but speedily rose to the surface, and said, "There are many like me below, but

they hate me, therefore carry me to the long water, three days' journey from the Missouri." This, 773
too, was done, but the serpent not liking his new abode, his comrade was obliged to carry him to a 778
second lake, called Histoppa-Numangka (the place of the tattooed countenance), when the
serpent was satisfied, and resolved to remain. He commissioned the young man to bring him four
things, viz. a white wolf, a polecat, some pounded maize, and eagles' tails: after this he was to go
to war four times, and kill an enemy in each combat. All this accordingly took place. The
serpent then added that he would always remain in this lake, never die, be medicine, and, when
the Mandans desired anything, they might come hither, do penance, or make offerings, that is
to say, hang robes, eagles' tails, and other articles of value, on poles on the banks of the lake,
which the Indians sometimes do even to this day.

Another curiosity of a similar nature is the Medicine Stone, which is mentioned by Lewis 787
and Clarke, and which the Manitaries likewise reverence. This stone is between two and three 778
days' journey from the villages on Cannon-ball River, and about 100 paces from its banks. I was
assured that it was on a tolerably high hill, and in the form of a flat slab, probably of sandstone.
The stone is described as being marked with impressions of the footsteps of men, and
animals of various descriptions, also of sledges with dogs. The Indians use this stone as an
oracle, and make offerings of value to it, such as kettles, blankets, cloth, guns, knives, hatchets,
medicine pipes, &c., which are found deposited close to it. The war parties of both nations, when
they take the field, generally go to this place, and consult the oracle as to the issue of their
enterprise. Lamenting and howling, they approach the hill, smoke their medicine pipes, and pass
the night near the spot. On the following morning they copy the figures on the stone upon
a piece of parchment or skin, which they take to the village, where the old men give the
interpretations. New figures are undoubtedly drawn from time to time on this stone, near to which
the celebrated ark, in which part of the nation was saved in the great deluge, formerly stood.

The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, 778
all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings 782
of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a
square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up round them, and
four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in
a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a red
stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is
fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake, painted red (Vignette
XIV). The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings or put up petitions;
they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life,
which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establishment
is represented in Plate XXV., where a couple of human figures, very clumsily made of skins,

778 were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life
782 and the old woman who never dies. Wormwood, of which they generally fasten a bunch to the
poles, is a sacred medicine herb, to which they ascribe various effects.

Dreams, as I have before said, afford the usual motives for such actions, and for the
787 penances which they impose upon themselves, and they believe all that appears in their dreams
782 to be true. They were not yet acquainted with fire-arms, when one of the Indians dreamt
789 of a weapon with which they could kill their enemies at a great distance, and soon afterwards
the white men brought them the first gun. In the same manner they dreamt of horses
304 before they obtained any. Even the Whites who live among them are infected with this
belief in dreams, and other superstitions. They frequently promise, on undertaking anything,
the joint of a finger, which they cut off at once, and keep in a handful of wormwood; this I
myself saw among the Blackfeet, where, at that time, it was a sign of mourning. It is also done
at the time of the Okippe in May and June. Almost all the Mandans and Manitaries have lost
one or two joints of the fingers, and several of them more. There are numerous superstitious
ideas and prejudices among these Indians. Thus, they believe that a person to whom they wish
ill must die, if they make a figure of wood or clay, substituting for the heart, a needle, an awl, or a
porcupine quill, and bury the image at the foot of one of their medicine poles. When a child is
born, the father must not bridle a horse, that is to say, he is not to fasten the halter to the
lower jaw, otherwise the child would die in convulsions. If the wife be pregnant, this circumstance
is often the cause of much ill fortune to the husband, and he is frequently unsuccessful
in hunting. If an Indian, in such cases, wounds a buffalo, without being able to kill it quickly,
he endeavours to carry the heart of a buffalo home, and makes his wife discharge an arrow at
777 it; he then again feels confidence in his weapons, that they will speedily kill. The Indians
affirm that a pregnant woman is very lucky at a game called billiards. Many consider it a bad
omen when a woman, while several Mandans are smoking together, passes between them. If a
woman is lying on the ground between the men who are smoking, a piece of wood is laid across
her, to serve as a communication between the men. The strongest man now living among the
789 Mandans, who has been the victor in several wrestling matches with the Whites, always takes
555 hold of his pipe by the head, for, were he to touch it in another part, the blood would suddenly
rush from his nostrils. As soon as he bleeds in this manner, he instantly empties his pipe, and
throws the contents into the fire, where it explodes like gunpowder, and the bleeding immediately
stops. Nobody, they say, can touch this man's face, without at once bleeding at the nose and
mouth. A certain Indian affirms that, whenever another offers him a pipe to smoke, out of
civility, he immediately has his mouth full of worms, handfuls of which he throws into the fire.
The medicine of another man consists in making a snow-ball, which he rolls a long time between
his hands, so that it at length becomes hard, and is converted into a white stone, which, when

struck, emits fire. Many persons, even Whites, pretended they had seen this, and it is utterly 789
useless to attempt convincing them to the contrary. The same man pretends that, during a dance, 556
he plucked white feathers from a certain small bird, which he rolled between his hands, and formed of them, in a short time, a similar white stone. Sometimes an Indian takes it into his head to make his gun medicine, or to consecrate it, which he does not dare afterwards to part with. With this view he generally makes a yearly feast in the spring. The crier (kettle-tender, or marmiton) must invite a certain number of guests, and receive an equal number of small sticks, which he delivers to them, as a sign of their being invited; nay, now, European playing cards are actually sent round for this purpose. The guests appear, lay their guns aside, and take their places, on which the drum and schischikué go round, and every guest sings, and plays the drum and rattle. While this music is going on, they eat the food which has been dressed, nor are they allowed to leave any of it. The host then takes his gun, cuts a piece of flesh, and with it rubs the barrel, and flings the meat into the fire; this is repeated thrice. He then takes up some of the water in which the meat was boiled, rubs the whole length of the barrel with it, pours the rest of the broth into the fire; and, lastly, takes fat, with which he rubs the whole of his gun, and then throws the remainder into the fire.

A great many Mandans and Manitaries believe that they have wild animals in their body; 787
one, for instance, affirmed he had a buffalo calf, the kicking of which he often felt; others said 778
they had tortoises, frogs, lizards, birds, and so forth. Among the Manitaries we saw medicine dances of the women, where one pretended that she had a head of maize in her body, which she cast out by dancing, and then ate, after it had been mixed with wormwood. Another discharged blood, but of this we shall speak in the sequel. Similar feats are seen among the Mandans also. They likewise relate a number of foolish stories of miraculous and supernatural events. Thus, a girl refused to marry, and had no intercourse with the other sex. One night, while she was asleep, a man lay down by her side, on which she awoke, and saw him go away in a white buffalo robe. As he returned on the two succeeding nights, she resolved to mark him, and stained her hand with red. He appeared, and she gave him a blow, with her hand, on his back, not being able to hold him. On the following day she examined all the robes in the whole village, but could not find the mark of her hand, till at length she discovered it on the back of a large white dog. Some months after, as the Indians are fully persuaded, she was delivered of seven young dogs. The people consider owls as medicine birds, and pretend to hold conversations with them, and to understand their attitudes and voices; often, indeed, they keep these animals alive in their huts, and look upon them as soothsayers. I shall, subsequently, have occasion to speak of the manner in which they catch all kinds of birds of prey, which feed on the flesh of dead animals, particularly eagles, which they sometimes preserve alive. They frequently look upon them as medicine.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 Many instruments used by the Whites, especially mathematical, are a great medicine, or charm, in their eyes, because they do not comprehend the use of them. Thus, the Indian women were frequently embarrassed when we looked at them through a telescope, because they believed that we had the power of penetrating their inmost thoughts, and of discovering their past and future actions.

805 The division of time, especially that of the year into months, is pretty conformable to nature; they count the years by winters, and say so many winters have passed since such an event. They are able to reckon the winters either by numbers, or on their fingers, for their numerals are very complete.

1. The month of the seven cold days, answering to our January.
2. The pairing month—February.
3. The month of weak eyes—March.
4. The month of game. Some call it the month of the wild geese. It is likewise often called the month of the breaking-up of the ice.
5. The month in which maize is sown, or the month of flowers—May.
6. The month of ripe service berries.
7. The month of ripe cherries.
8. The month of ripe plums.
9. The month of ripe maize.
10. The month of the falling leaves.
11. The month in which the rivers freeze.
12. The month of slight frost.

Here and there other names are given to the months, but the above are the most common.

461
224
The chief occupations of the Indians, besides adorning and painting their persons, looking in the glass, smoking, eating, and sleeping, are the chase and war, and these fill up a great part of their time. The principal beast of chase is the buffalo, or, rather, the buffalo cow. The men generally go hunting in a body, on horseback, in order to be the more secure against a superior
492 force of their enemies. The equipments of their horses are much like those of the Blackfeet, and their saddle resembles the Hungarian; though, now, they sometimes obtain saddles from the Whites, which they line and ornament with red and blue cloth. In riding, they never leave hold of their whip, the handle of which is made of wood, and not of elk's horn, as among the more
224 western nations. They never wear spurs. In the summer time, if the herds of buffaloes are dispersed to great distances in the prairie, the chase, of course, requires more time and exertion; but in winter, when they approach the Missouri, and seek shelter in the woods, a great number are

461 the east or the west, the scenes of their battles, which they are recounting over to each other. In another direction, the wooing lover, softening the heart of his fair Taih-nah-tai-a with the notes of his simple lute. On other lodges, and beyond these, groups are engaged in games of the "moccasin," or the "platter." Some are to be seen manufacturing robes and dresses, and others, fatigued with amusements or occupations, have stretched their limbs to enjoy the luxury of sleep, whilst basking in the sun. With all this wild and varied medley of living beings are mixed their dogs, which seem to be so near an Indian's heart, as almost to constitute a material link of his existence.

361 In the centre of the village is an open space, or public area, of 150 feet
in diameter, and circular in form, which is used for all public games and
●778 festivals, shews and exhibitions; and also for their "annual religious
ceremonies," which are soon to take place, and of which I shall hereafter give some account. The lodges around this open space front in, with their doors towards the centre; and in the middle of this circle stands an object of great religious veneration, as I am told, on account of the importance it has in the conduction of those annual religious rites.

778 This object is in form of a large hogshead, some eight or ten feet high, made of planks and hoops, containing within it some of their choicest medicines or mysteries, and religiously preserved unhacked or scratched, as a symbol of the "Big Canoe," as they call it.

One of the lodges fronting on this circular area, and facing this strange object of their superstition, is called the "Medicine Lodge," or council house. It is in this sacred building that these wonderful ceremonies, in commemoration of the flood, take place. I am told by the Traders that the cruelties of these scenes are frightful and abhorrent in the extreme; and that this huge wigwam, which is now closed, has been built exclusively for this grand celebration. I am every day reminded of the near approach of the season for this strange affair, and as I have not yet seen any thing of it, I cannot describe it; I know it only from the relations of the Traders who have witnessed parts of it; and their descriptions are of so extraordinary a character, that I would not be willing to describe until I can see for myself, —which will, in all probability, be in a few days.

351 In ranging the eye over the village from where I am writing, there is
778 presented to the view the strangest mixture and medley of unintelligible
trash (independant of the living beings that are in motion), that can possibly be imagined. On the roofs of the lodges, besides the groups of living, are buffaloes' skulls, skin canoes, pots and pottery; sleds and sledges—and suspended on poles, erected some twenty feet above the doors of their wigwams, are displayed in a pleasant day, the scalps of warriors, preserved as trophies; and thus proudly exposed as evidence of their warlike deeds. In other parts are raised on poles the warriors' pure and whitened shields and quivers, with medicine-bags attached; and here and there a sacrifice of red

cloth, or other costly stuff, offered up to the Great Spirit, over the door of 351
some benignant chief, in humble gratitude for the blessings which he is 778 ●
enjoying. Such is a part of the strange medley that is before and around me; and amidst them and the blue streams of smoke that are rising from the tops of these hundred "coal-pits," can be seen in distance, the green and boundless, treeless, bushless prairie; and on it, and contiguous to the piquet which encloses the village, a hundred scaffolds, on which their "dead live," as they term it.

These people never bury the dead, but place the bodies on slight scaffolds 764
just above the reach of human hands, and out of the way of wolves and dogs; and they are there left to moulder and decay. This cemetery, or place of deposite for the dead, is just back of the village, on a level prairie (PLATE 48); and with all its appearances, history, forms, ceremonies, &c. is one of the strangest and most interesting objects to be described in the vicinity of this peculiar race.

Whenever a person dies in the Mandan village, and the customary honours and condolence are paid to his remains, and the body dressed in its best attire, painted, oiled, feasted, and supplied with bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco—knife, flint and steel, and provisions enough to last him a few days on the journey which he is to perform; a fresh buffalo's skin, just taken from the animal's back, is wrapped around the body, and tightly bound and wound with thongs of raw hide from head to foot. Then other robes are soaked in water, till they are quite soft and elastic, which are also bandaged around the body in the same manner, and tied fast with thongs, which are wound with great care and exactness, so as to exclude the action of the air from all parts of the body.

There is then a separate scaffold erected for it, constructed of four upright posts, a little higher than human hands can reach; and on the tops of these are small poles passing around from one post to the others; across which a number of willow-rods just strong enough to support the body, which is laid upon them on its back, with its feet carefully presented towards the rising sun.

There are a great number of these bodies resting exactly in a similar way; excepting in some instances where a chief, or medicine-man, may be seen with a few yards of scarlet or blue cloth spread over his remains, as a mark of public respect and esteem. Some hundreds of these bodies may be seen reposing in this manner in this curious place, which the Indians call, "the
village of the dead;" and the traveller, who visits this country to study and 000
learn, will not only be struck with the novel appearance of the scene; but if he will give attention to the respect and devotions that are paid to this sacred place, he will draw many a moral deduction that will last him through life: he will learn, at least, that filial, conjugal, and paternal affection are not necessarily the results of civilization; but that the Great Spirit has given them to man in his native state; and that the

300 ingly grotesque and amusing, and that part of them which has a relation to the Delüge is harmless and full of interest.

In the centre of the Mandan village is an open, circular area of 150 feet
361 diameter, kept always clear, as a public ground, for the display of all their public feasts, parades, &c. and around it are their wigwams placed as near to each other as they can well stand, their doors facing the centre of this public area.

•778 In the middle of this ground, which is trodden like a hard pavement, is a curb (somewhat like a large hogshead standing on its end) made of planks
796 (and bound with hoops), some eight or nine feet high, which they religiously preserve and protect from year to year, free from mark or scratch, and which they call the "big canoe"—it is undoubtedly a symbolic representation of a part of their traditional history of the Flood; which it is very evident, from this and numerous other features of this grand ceremony, they have in some way or other received, and are here endeavouring to perpetuate by vividly impressing it on the minds of the whole nation. This object of superstition, from its position, as the very centre of the village is the rallying point of the whole nation. To it their devotions are paid on various occasions of feasts and religious exercises during the year; and in this extraordinary scene it was often the nucleus of their mysteries and cruelties, as I shall shortly describe them, and becomes an object worth bearing in mind, and worthy of being understood.

796 This exciting and appalling scene, then, which is familiarly (and no doubt correctly) called the "Mandan religious ceremony," commences, not on a
805 particular day of the year, (for these people keep no record of days or weeks),
773 but at a particular season, which is designated by the full expansion of the willow leaves under the bank of the river; for according to their tradition, "the twig that the bird brought home was a willow bough, and had full-grown leaves on it," and the bird to which they allude, is the mourning or turtle-dove, which they took great pains to point out to me, as it is often to be seen feeding on the sides of their earth-covered lodges, and which, being, as they call it, a *medicine-bird*, is not to be destroyed or harmed by any one, and even their dogs are instructed not to do it injury.

On the morning on which this strange transaction commenced, I was sitting
796 at breakfast in the house of the Trader, Mr. Kipp, when at sun-rise, we were suddenly startled by the shrieking and screaming of the women, and barking and howling of dogs, as if an enemy were actually storming their village.

"Now we have it!" (exclaimed *mine host*, as he sprang from the table,) the grand ceremony has commenced!—drop your knife and fork, Monsr. and get your sketch-book as soon as possible, that you may lose nothing, for the very moment of *commencing* is as curious as anything else of this strange affair." I seized my sketch-book, and all hands of us were in an instant in front of the medicine-lodge, ready to see and to hear all that was to take place. Groups of women and children were gathered on the tops of

796 123 or war-clubs in their hands. I gave the wink to my companions as I was passing in, and the potency of my *medicine* was such as to gain them a quiet admission, and all of us were comfortably placed on elevated seats, which our conductor soon prepared for us.

We were then in full view of everything that transpired in the lodge, having before us the scene exactly, which is represented in the first of the four pictures. To this seat we returned every morning at sunrise, and remained until sun-down for four days, the whole time which these strange scenes occupied.

796 778 In addition to the preparations and arrangements of the interior of this sanctuary, as above described, there was a curious, though a very strict arrangement of buffalo and human skulls placed on the floor of the lodge, and between them (which were divided into two parcels), and in front of the reclining group of young candidates, was a small and very delicate scaffold, elevated about five feet from the ground, made of four posts or crotches, not larger than a gun-rod, and placed some four or five feet apart, supporting four equally delicate rods, resting in the crotches; thus forming the frame of the scaffold, which was completed by a number of still smaller and more delicate sticks, transversely resting upon them. On the centre of this little frame rested some small object, which I could not exactly understand from the distance of twenty or thirty feet which intervened between it and my eye. I started several times from my seat to approach it, but all eyes were instantly upon me, and every mouth in the assembly sent forth a hush—sh—! which brought me back to my seat again; and I at length quieted my stifled curiosity as well as I could, upon learning the fact, that so sacred was that object, and so important its secrets or mysteries, that not *I* alone, but even the young men, who were passing the ordeal, and all the village, save the conductor of the mysteries, were stopped from approaching it, or knowing what it was.

This little mystery-thing, whatever it was, had the appearance from where I sat, of a small tortoise or frog lying on its back, with its head and legs quite extended, and wound and tasselled off with exceedingly delicate red and blue, and yellow ribbons or tassels, and other bright coloured ornaments; and seemed, from the devotions paid to it, to be the very nucleus of their mysteries—the *sanctissimus sanctorum*, from which seemed to emanate all the sanctity of their proceedings, and to which, all seemed to be paying the highest devotional respect.

This strange, yet important *essence* of their mysteries, I made every enquiry about; but got no further information of, than what I could learn by my eyes, at the distance at which I saw it, and from the silent respect which I saw paid to it. I tried with the doctors, and all of the *fraternity* answered me, that that was "*great medicine,*" assuring me that it "could not be told." So I quieted my curiosity as well as I could, by the full conviction that I had a *degree* or two yet to take before I could fathom all

the arcana of Indian superstitions; and that this little, seemingly wonderful, 796
relic of antiquity, symbol of some grand event, or "secret too valuable to 778
be told," might have been at last nothing but a silly bunch of strings and toys, to which they pay some great peculiar regard; giving thereby to some favourite Spirit or essence an ideal existence, and which, when called upon to describe, they refuse to do so, calling it "*Great Medicine*," for the very reason that there is nothing in it to reveal or describe.

Immediately under the little frame or scaffold described, and on the floor of the lodge was placed a knife, and by the side of it a bundle of splints or skewers, which were kept in readiness for the infliction of the cruelties directly to be explained. There were seen also, in this stage of the affair, a number of cords of rawhide hanging down from the top of the lodge, and passing through its roof, with which the young men were to be suspended by the splints passed through their flesh, and drawn up by men placed on the top of the lodge for the purpose, as will be described in a few moments.

There were also four articles of great veneration and importance lying on the floor of the lodge, which were sacks, containing in each some three or four gallons of water. These also were objects of superstitious regard, and made with great labour and much ingenuity; each one of them being constructed of the skin of the buffalo's neck, and most elaborately sewed together in the form of a large tortoise lying on its back, with a bunch of eagle's quills appended to it as a tail; and each of them having a stick, shaped like a drum-stick, lying on them, with which, in a subsequent stage of these ceremonies, as will be seen, they are beaten upon by several of their mystery-men, as a part of the music for their strange dances and mysteries. By the side of these sacks which they call *Eeh-teeh-ka*, are two other articles of equal importance, which they call *Eeh-na-dee* (rattles), in the form of a gourd-shell made also of dried skins, and used at the same time as the others, in the music (or rather *noise* and *din*) for their dances, &c.

These four sacks of water have the appearance of very great antiquity; and by enquiring of my very ingenious friend and patron, the *medicine-man*, after the ceremonies were over, he very gravely told me, that "those four tortoises contained the waters from the four quarters of the world—that these waters had been contained therein ever since the settling down of the waters!" I did not think it best to advance any argument against so ridiculous a theory, and therefore could not even enquire or learn, at what period they had been instituted, or how often, or on what occasions, the water in them had been changed or replenished.

I made several propositions, through my friend Mr. Kipp, the trader and 796
interpreter, to purchase one of these strange things by offering them a very 421
liberal price; to which I received in answer that these, and all the very numerous articles used in these ceremonies, being a *society property* were